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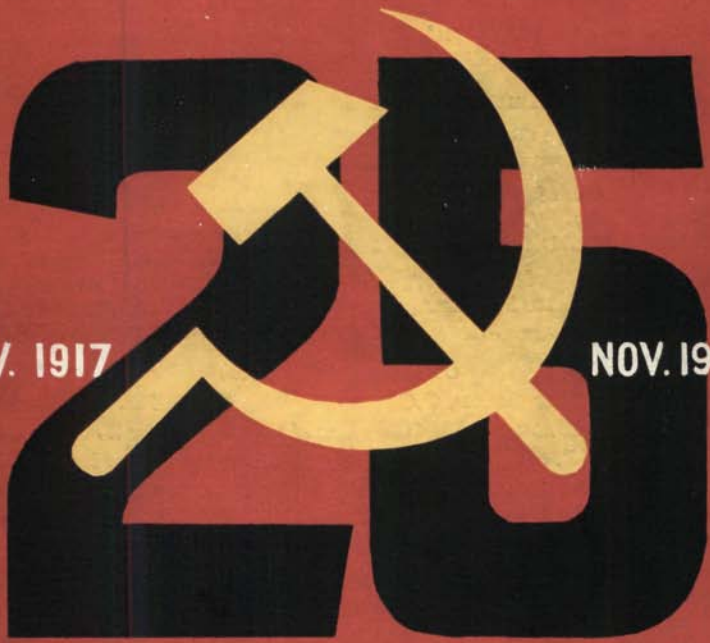

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Illustrations

Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Gorky, the Russian Bureau of 1912, Vinogradova, Stakhanov, Dnieper Dam and Kuznetzk.

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

A Great Anniversary—World Tributes—The Second Generation of the Revolution—Testimonies of Friend and Foe—Changing the World—The Greatest Revolution in History—Spanning the Ages—Twenty-five Years of the Old World—Twenty-five Years of the New World—The Record—And the Outcome—Fascism—Soviet Achievement—Conquest of Freedom—Construction of the New Society—Armed Defence—Saving the World—The Lesson—From the Past to the Future—The Great Alliance—Battles in Front—The Time for Action—The Price of Victory.

THE entire world pays tribute to the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is more than the celebration of a great anniversary of a State or a nation. It is the celebration of a common achievement of mankind, in which all can share, in which all can feel the promise of their own future, and which has brought inspiration, hope and strength in a dark hour of sorest need for the whole world. Men and women of every nation, race and country, of every colour and creed, of every social condition and political outlook, unite to-day in paying honour to this achievement and to the rôle of the Soviet Union, whose grandeur transcends all sectional controversies and has won the equal homage of statesman and soldier, of scientist and educationist, of poet and philosopher, of all who stand for human freedom and progress—and above all of the common people in every country, who feel in the Soviet Union the triumph of their own fellows, the sword of the oppressed, and the guarantee of the future victory of the cause of human liberation against the dark forces of Fascism and reaction. In the spirit of this united alliance for the victory of human freedom and the conquest of Fascist slavery, we have gladly thrown open our pages on this signal anniversary to men and women in all walks of life, and of widely varying outlook, to express their personal tribute and viewpoint of what the Soviet Union stands for in the world to-day.

THE grim contours of the present conflict, lit up by the fires of a heroism which is carrying forward the glory of 1917 to new heights in our own day, have awakened world opinion to wider understanding of the new dynamic force which is embodied in the Soviet Union, which has been operative in the world during these twenty-five years, and which now more clearly than ever before is the bearer of the hopes of humanity. In the storm of battle the second generation of the revolution are proving themselves the equals of the first. The defenders of Stalingrad and Sevastopol and Leningrad are the true heirs of those who stormed the Winter Palace, who routed Denikin and Kolchak and the armies of intervention, and built Socialism in a land of backwardness and ruin.

THEIR fathers laid low Tsarism, the fortress of world reaction, in order to liberate one sixth of the earth and build the first republic of classless freedom the world has ever known. The successors of these heroes of the revolution, their sons and daughters, the new men and new women born and bred in Socialist freedom, are now proving their metal to an astonished world, as (at a cruel and terrible cost in the most precious human material which exists on earth to-day) they are leading the nations in the supreme world battle against the final phalanx of tyranny and barbarism and enslavement, the monster of Fascism, for the liberation of all mankind. Victory in this conflict will require the united action of

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all nations; and every delay in this united action costs a deadly price. In this common conflict the past sixteen months have shown that the armies of the Soviet Union constitute the vanguard of the armies of freedom: the first to have shown the way to stand up to and smash the hitherto invincible offensive of the Nazi armies; and the first in the volume of their sacrifices, the scale of their achievement and the crippling losses they have inflicted on the enemy.

WHEN the former Archbishop of Canterbury (not the present incumbent, but his Conservative predecessor) could declare on New Year's Day of this year:—

> There is a beacon shining through the clouds of destiny. That beacon is Russia.

When a hard-bitten Conservative business magnate and press lord like Lord Beaverbrook could proclaim in April of this year in a wave of enthusiasm:—

> Communism under Stalin has produced the most valiant fighting army in Europe.
>
> Communism under Stalin has provided us with examples of patriotism equal to the finest in the annals of history.
>
> Communism under Stalin has produced the best generals of this war.

When the Nazi enemy, through the mouth of their military spokesman, General Dietmar, find themselves compelled to admit in a broadcast in September:—

> The easiest and most complete victories are achieved when the moral resistance of the enemy—the will to fight—is hit quickly. Against Soviet soldiers there is no chance of achieving such a victory. . . .
>
> Against any other opponent, less hard and less experienced, our measures would have proved successful. To paralyse the enemy's moral resistance by hard blows is out of the question in Russia, although it was possible in the case of our former enemies and will certainly be possible in the future with any of our enemies, actual or potentia .
>
> The Soviet soldier is far more strongly attached than any other soldier to the system in which he finds himself. The authority of the Soviet leadership is limitless.

All these, and a thousand similar testimonies, coming from the most divers quarters, are a symptom that something new is happening in the world. In the relentless ordeal of war, the new power of human solidarity, will, courage and organisation which is embodied in the classless society of the Soviet Union, whose strength in peacetime so many affected to ignore or decry or even misjudged behind the mists of their own propaganda, now forces itself beyond escape on universal recognition, of friend and foe alike. The rôle and influence of the Russian Revolution extends in new forms and to wider circles. The channel of history is broadening out.

IN the earliest months of the Russian Revolution a young American reporter and fighter for the cause of the revolution wrote a book which helped to blazon its epic story to the peoples of all countries under the title "Ten Days that Shook the World." To-day we commemorate Twenty-five Years that have Changed the World—and the change is extending at an ever faster rate. There has been nothing like it in the record since man existed on the earth. All previous revolutions only replaced the rule of one exploiting class by that of another exploiting class, however high-sounding the ideal aims which they proclaimed. The Russian Revolution for the first time struck at the root of class slavery by establishing social ownership.

BECAUSE all previous revolutions only substituted the rule of one exploiting class by another, therefore all alike ended in the final triumph of reaction, however fervent the enthusiasm with which they began. But the Russian Revolution through all these twenty-five years has only deepened and extended its range and scope; strengthened and consolidated its foundations; carried further forward the social transformation which it initiated; and built further forward the mighty social structure upon these foundations. The Russian Revolution

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after twenty-five years goes forward from strength to strength, deepening and extending its world range and influence. The same Bolshevik Party which, under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, carried the revolution to victory, to-day, after twenty-five years, under the continuing guidance of Stalin, carries forward its task of leadership in the present titanic world conflict.

THE Russian Revolution is to-day established in the sight of all as the greatest revolution in world history —not only in the profundity of its aims, the daring of its vision, its political, social and economic content, and its practical achievement, but now also in its duration and in the leading character of its world rôle. The English Revolution of the seventeenth century passed within two decades from its first stirring to the fall of the Republic and the restoration of the Monarchy. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century, although far vaster in extent than the English Revolution which had pioneered the way, and far more universal in its world influence, constituting the seed-bed of all subsequent nineteenth-century advance, nevertheless passed within a decade and a half from its starting point to the establishment of the Empire, and within another decade to the restoration of the Monarchy.

BUT the Russian Revolution after twenty-five years, precisely because it is the first social revolution, is stronger and more powerful than in its inception, its economy now firmly built and tested, and its social and political basis consolidated and proved in the fiery furnace of war, advancing in the midst of the grimmest ordeal any nation has ever known to new heights and pinnacles of heroic accomplishment and glory, of indestructible strength and unity in the face of every loss and sacrifice, and of deepening and extending world influence and leadership. Herein is typically demonstrated its fundamental difference from all previous revolutions, and the consequent blindness of those who seek to measure its significance and the steps of its advance by the pigmy measuring rod of previous revolutions.

TWENTY-FIVE years is no long span in the thousands of years since class society emerged from primitive Communism. But in the modern period, in the period of the break-up of the old social order and the birth of a new world, in the period of the internal-combustion engine and the aeroplane and the wireless, in the period of the gigantic world monopolies and Fascism and the first foundations of Socialism upon earth, it is an age whose span exceeds all those preceding thousands of years—for its span bridges the gulf from class society to the first beginnings of the classless society of the future.

TWENTY-FIVE years. 1917 to 1942. What will be the verdict of history on these twenty-five years? Will they be seen (as the conventional fashion of current Western history of "the wasted years," "the years between," "the inter-war years" now runs) as a dreary desert of spreading chaos and anarchy and breakdown, of lost opportunities and bankrupt statesmanship, of economic wreckage and dishonoured ideals and political follies, of the cold frenzies of Versailles and its penalties, of unemployment and Fascist torture-chambers and the mockery of peace as an armistice between wars, of dull-eyed, colourless, nerveless politicians without vision in charge of gigantic destinies they could not understand, of the Hardings and Bonar Laws, the Baldwins and MacDonalds, the Daladiers and Neville Chamberlains, paving the way for the orgies of the Mussolinis, Hitlers and Arakis?

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OR will they be seen as the glorious years of the birth of a new world, from which the modern history of the future will take its starting-point as the first beginning of the civilised history of free associated humanity: of the victory of the Russian Revolution and the first foundation of Socialism ("I have seen the future, and it works," as the old American reformer, Lincoln Steffens, came back to report with shining eyes twenty-three years ago); of the spreading sweep of the Chinese National Revolution and the awakening of Asia; of giant struggles of the advancing workers in Europe and America, with countless unrecorded acts of solidarity, devotion, sacrifice and sublime grandeur of millions of human beings; of the heroism of the Asturias, the Vienna battles, the Paris days of 1934, of Spanish Democracy and the International Brigade; culminating in the stand of the United Nations against Fascism and the glory of Stalingrad: the age of Lenin and Stalin, of Stakhanov and Timoshenko, of Mao-Tse-Tung, of Dimitrov, of Pasionaria? Who can doubt the verdict of history?

WHAT, indeed, have we made of these twenty-five years, of which the Soviet people have made so much? What have we to show for them at the end of the road, after the twenty-five years are run? It is not a proud record. It is not a happy outcome. It might have been thought that we had every advantage on our side in Britain and the rest of Europe, as compared with Russia. Technical superiority; vast accumulated material resources; a long completed industrial revolution; skilled industrial populations; highly developed organised labour movements; large-scale machine-power equipment so capable of producing every necessity at the word of command like a lamp of Aladdin that already in 1918 the old Lord Leverhulme could declare that half an hour's work per week of every adult could produce abundance for all. Power? The military victory of 1918 was so complete that absolute world power lay in the hands of the conquerors, while Germany lay prostrate and disarmed. The way was open, amid the universal expectation of mankind, to organise the new world order—had the leadership been there capable of responding to the opportunity. By every ordinary measure every factor of advantage might have seemed then to have been on the side of the world outside Russia. What was lacking? Only one thing was lacking in that box of Pandora —the guidance of Marxism, the power of the working class.

AND the outcome? The face of Europe and the world to-day provides the answer. "From what high hope to what relapse fallen?" Where to-day are the proud boasts which a generation ago so confidently proclaimed for the rest of Europe and the world the "alternative path" to the path of the Russian Revolution. Limitless were the promises and pretensions with which the period opened. Limitless was the contempt for the backwardness and barbarism of famine-wracked, storm-tossed Russia amid the ruins of Tsarist collapse, war and civil war. Limitless were the lectures which were delivered to point the moral of the state of Russia as the awful warning of the consequences of the false path of the Russian Revolution; the lofty moral rebukes to the Soviet leaders for their alleged "belief in violence" because they taught that, until the final victory of the classless society of the future, only the armed power of the people could defend every gain of human progress against the monstrosities and malevolence of reaction. To-day the tables are turned. The old controversy is ended.

THE "alternative path" has ended, not in peace and progress and prosperity, but in Fascism over Europe, whose horrors leave Tsarism a mere pale

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foreshadowing: the wreck of cities; the enslavement of nations; the gallows and execution squads in the capitals of Europe; pogroms and concentration camps; great organised labour movements shattered and driven underground; the mighty industrial machine-power harnessed to turn out the weapons of destruction for Nazi conquest; the peoples struggling from the abyss at the cost of bloody sacrifice to win the most elementary conditions of life and freedom. And in this desperate struggle the once despised and denounced Soviet Power, the Soviet people, the Red Army have become the hope of the world, acclaimed on all sides as the saviours of European civilisation and culture, of world freedom, against the flooding tide of Fascist barbarism. The wheel of history has indeed turned during these twenty-five years.

WHAT have the Soviet people made of these twenty-five years? They began with every disadvantage, by all ordinary measures. They inherited the damned legacy of Tsarism: the most backward and broken-down of the old world empires; a land, rich in natural resources, but poverty-stricken, lacking the most elementary material and technical equipment, and with an illiterate population; ruined by the misgovernment of a corrupt autocracy; filthy and disease-ridden; the lowest level of economy in Europe, with the old machinery of government in ruins, and finally brought to the most extreme point of collapse by the wholesale destruction and privation of years of war, civil war and blockade; ringed round with foreign enemies and invading armies occupying at one moment three-quarters of its soil, and faced with the internal revolt of the old privileged classes whose armies were subsidised and equipped from abroad. Such a situation might well have daunted the bravest hearts. But it did not daunt the spirit of Bolshevism.

WITHIN a few years they had cleared out the foreign enemies and invading armies from their country; they had broken the conspiracies of the former privileged classes; they had brought peace and security in place of chaos. In place of the old collapsed governmental machinery of autocracy they had built up the marvellous self-governing institutions of Soviet democracy, drawing the widest masses into direct participation in administration and the conduct of their own affairs in a way that had never before been thought possible even in the most advanced democratic countries. Illiteracy had been liquidated. Women were brought into equal participation (not merely formal equality) with men. The former subject nationalities were liberated, and the most backward helped to come rapidly forward to the technical and cultural level of the most advanced.

WITH this foundation of a free and united people they went forward to the tasks of reconstruction, not for the profit of a narrow class of capitalists and landlords, but to build up the common wealth of the whole people on the basis of socially owned industry and collective agriculture. Within a few years, without either accumulated capital or foreign investment, such as had provided the means of industrialisation in other countries; drawing on their own resources, by the united effort and sacrifice of an entire people, they had carried through a gigantic work of large-scale technical construction without parallel in world economic history; they had brought their country from its backward economic level, low in the world scale, to a position among the foremost industrial Powers of the world; they had increased the national income ninefold; wages, social and cultural conditions leapt forward.

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IN the midst of all this peaceful economic and social reconstruction, they never forgot, surrounded by a sick world of a dying social order which was breeding Fascist reaction and war, to build up their armed power. As the new socialist order of construction, peace, freedom and democracy advanced in the Soviet Union, so Fascism—the army of destruction and death, the monstrous final embodiment of the enemy of human progress, the abortion begotten by the forces of privilege and reaction to bludgeon awakening mankind into subjection and bestial degradation—advanced its murderous tentacles over the rest of the world. This contrast is the keynote of the most recent period of human history. The peoples of the world were disunited and unprepared. Therefore Fascism advanced. But the Soviet people were not unprepared. Their vigilance and preparedness is to-day saving the world.

THE Soviet people understood the character of Fascism from its first onset. With limitless renewed sacrifice, when it might have seemed natural, after all they had been through during years of war and civil war, of struggle and privation, for the sake of building up their glorious achievement, to seek a moment's respite in order to enjoy the fruits of their labours, they turned to the new task, rendered necessary, not by their own shortcomings, but by our failure in the rest of the world in opening the gates to Fascism. Year by year they devoted a larger proportion of their precious productive effort, which they alone of all nations understood how to organise to capacity for social and cultural purposes, to the remorseless necessity of building up armaments. From the year before Hitler came to power to the year when he attacked the Soviet Union, they multiplied their expenditure on armed defence forty-one times over (from 1.7 milliard roubles in 1932 to 70.9 milliard roubles in 1941). Thereby they built up the mighty armed forces which have alone been able to stand up to Fascism, where all other armies went down before its assault, and which are to-day engaging in the sixteenth month —still, it must be said to our shame, in isolation—the combined strength of the Nazi armies and of their satellites in Europe, while their Far Eastern Army holds off Japan and immobilises an important proportion of the Japanese forces.

NOR was their preparedness only in the field of armed defence. Their vigilance struck down and annihilated the Fifth Column penetration of Fascism at a time when it had free play in every other country (a free play that is not yet ended), and when the peoples of the other countries were so far from understanding the danger that their spokesmen viewed the great series of State trials from 1935 to 1938, which exposed the Nazi aims of world domination, with amazed incomprehension or even with senseless and unpardonable calumnies. Their diplomacy led the way in seeking to build up a world alliance of the peoples for collective defence against Fascism. For years the machinations of reaction prevented that alliance; and the disastrous consequence of these policies led, as predicted at the time, to the temporary isolation of the British people before Fascism. But to-day the grand alliance of the nations against Fascism exists. If we do our part to make it effective, the way is opening out to a new epoch of world history which can wipe out all that is shameful in these twenty-five years and inaugurate the great changes which will be in humanity's grasp.

BUT the way to the accomplishment of these aims lies through victory over Fascism. The urgency of the present tasks leaves little time for commemorations, even of the greatest event in human history; for we are making

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history, and those who have the best claim to commemorate are in the front ranks in making it. We may hope that the lessons of these twenty-five years will be deeply pondered. We may hope that the lesson of the contrast of these twenty-five years, between the record of the Soviet Union and the record of the rest of the world, will be taken to heart. We cannot afford to repeat the old mistakes again.

LET us hope that the Left will learn from Bolshevism the lesson of arms; the lesson of discipline; the lesson of the rôle of the working class party; the lesson of that unconquerable will which, imbued with the sense of a historical mission and guided by the Marxist science of understanding of the ever changing concrete historical situation, can overcome every obstacle and transform the world. Let us even hope that those of the Right who are not yet committed to Fascism may learn from that hideous warning of whither the path of the defence of privilege and reaction leads in the present age and in the present inexorable choice now more and more clearly facing the future development of society in every leading country, and may rally in time to adapt their policies to accept, even if they cannot support, the path of popular progress. We are entering a period of great world changes which must carry forward the tasks of human liberation.

THE establishment of the British-Soviet Alliance and of the alliance of the United Nations against Fascism is a first step forward. It marks the break with the old disastrous policies during the past twenty-five years which sought to maintain hostility between the Western world and the Soviet Union; which sought, in the spirit of a Castlereagh, to organise the war of corrupt privilege, of the bondholders and the émigrés, against the new-won freedom of the Soviet people; and which only served thereby to build up the gangster power of Fascism for the undoing of the Western peoples. It heralds the collapse of the barriers of misunderstanding and calumny which reactionary ideologues and parasites of wealth and privilege (masquerading also in the camp of the Left) have sought to build up between the democratic peoples of the West and the Soviet people. The poison of Munichism is not yet out of the system; it is still potent and working great harm; it may do more harm before the battle is over. But the basis of co-operation is laid. The logic of history is stronger than the logic of Munich.

WE need now to strengthen that co-operation, and to recognise that the enemies of the Soviet Union in Britain are the enemies of Britain. The ball is at our feet. By our action we can make that co-operation firm and lasting. The unity of States must be accompanied by unity of the peoples, unity of the Labour movement, friendship and understanding. The old enemies of the people are still seeking, more actively than ever as they see the approaching downfall of Fascism, to disrupt that unity which spells its doom, to sabotage common action and to insinuate division. The representatives of Munich, concealing their aims behind their old "Christian" code-word (the notorious code-word of reaction, of the Francos and Pétains), seek now to play up the conception of "Anglo-American" unity in separation from the Soviet Union. That is the path of disruption for the benefit of Fascism. As sure as we stand for victory over Fascism, as sure as we stand for freedom against slavery, we must fight that disruption and build firm the unity. If the popular forces play their part, the co-operation of the British, American, Soviet and Chinese peoples, together with the European peoples now tortured by Fascism, with the Indian people and all

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the peoples of the world, can go forward, over the ruins of Fascism, to a new and fruitful period of world development, for which 1917 shall have been the glorious prelude.

BUT the alliance is nothing without action. Delay of action endangers the alliance. The present situation is serious in the extreme. Great opportunities have been lost; the menace of Munich recurs in new forms. The warning of Stalin's letter, revealing that there is not yet unity of allied strategy, and that it can be found necessary to give a public reminder of pledged undertakings still to be fulfilled, is a grave warning. We cannot positively tolerate the last and deadliest gamble with the fate of the British people through further paralysis and delay of that offensive action with all our strength on the field of Europe which, alongside the unbroken Soviet offensive strength, can still bring speedy victory in place of a prolonged and crippling war. We must do all in our power, by the united exertion of the Labour movement and of the democratic forces of this country, to end this disastrous situation and to compel whatever changes are necessary in order to finish with half-hearted playing at war and bring the entire strength of the alliance to bear in a united strategy against the common enemy.

THE Soviet people are doing their part, and more than their part, to the last reserve of their strength. We can never for one moment let slip from our vision, in this hour of commemoration of their glorious achievement, their five and a half million casualties, their seventy millions under the whip of Nazi brigandage and barbarism, their devastated fields and factories, the wreck of their resources and of the precious work of their construction; their contribution to the common cause, which, without stinting recognition of all who have given so much from this country and from other lands, still leaves the contribution of all the rest of the alliance put together a pinprick in comparison. If we do our part, victory is certain. The crucial testing of the war is here. Great horizons open out before us: great perspectives which can follow upon victory. But it remains true, as it will always remain true until the final golden age of the victory of the classless society of the future over the earth, that the path of human advance must be paid for with blood and sacrifice to reap the harvest of a better future.

R. P. D.

A Greeting from BEATRICE WEBB

WARMEST congratulations on the celebration in the LABOUR MONTHLY of the glorious revolution of November, 1917, which established on one sixth of the earth's surface the new civilisation of Soviet Communism.

Through this New Social Order, with its racial equality, its multiform democracy, its planned production for community consumption, and its substitution of social service for the profit-making motive, the Russian people have transformed the life of 200 million inhabitants of its vast territories.

When the Germans' treacherous invasion plunged Russia into war, the Russian people, whatever their race, colour or religion, whether soldier or civilian, men, women or young people, even children, resisted not only with reckless courage, but with skill, discipline and personal initiative, the powerful onslaught of the highly mechanised German army, hitherto conqueror of the European continent.

But it is not only in war that the Russian people will secure the new social order. When peace comes and they are confronted with the task of reconstructing their destroyed cities and factories, collective farms and transport, they will not be hampered by unemployment or underemployment, and with the decline of the birth-rate—the mortal diseases of all countries governed by capitalists and landlords imbued with the profit-making motive.

That is why we believe in the future of Soviet Communism as a "New Civilisation."

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Russia in October-November, 1941

by Sir WALTER MONCKTON, K.C.V.O., M.C., K.C.

I WOULD not miss an opportunity of paying my tribute to Russia, since I can at least say that less than a year ago I twice set foot in Stalingrad; but my contribution can only take the form of some account of the impression made on me by my month in Russia in the winter of 1941. I am not a party politician, nor am I sufficiently equipped by study and observation to discuss the Soviet political system, and, though I am in some sense a lawyer and have had, from time to time, to study certain aspects of the principles and procedure of the Soviet courts, I have not such a grasp of the whole system as would entitle me to write authoritatively.

But no one could be in Russia, as I was, in October and November, 1941, without being moved and impressed by the way in which the people confronted the hardships and perils of war. I was in Baku for a few days, in Astrakan for a night or two, in Kuibyshev for more than a fortnight. At that time the Diplomatic Corps had moved from Moscow, which was in imminent peril, back to Kuibyshev, and the main organs of the Soviet Government had moved there, too. It is some indication, not only of the courage of M. Stalin, but of his imagination and sense of leadership that he remained in Moscow all the time and that, on the anniversary of the Revolution, he addressed a large parade of troops in the besieged city.

At Kuibyshev we had a similar parade on the Red Square at which Marshal Voroshilov took the salute. It was an impressive spectacle. More than 250 aircraft flew overhead. There must have been about a division of troops of all arms on the parade ground. They were well equipped with modern weapons, though there were not many tanks with them: they looked keen, determined and young. It was an extremely cold morning—I had been equipped by the R.A.F. with a padded coat and some fur-lined boots and wore two of everything I could, but even so felt frozen. The troops, on the other hand, though warmly clad, were not wearing anything like so much, and I was particularly struck by the way Marshal Voroshilov rode from company to company with his ungloved right hand rigidly at the salute. The parade was a more cogent proof than anything I had heard or read that the Russian soldier knows how to face the rigours of the Russian winter.

The night before this parade there had been a great meeting in the Opera House to commemorate the Revolution, at which President Kalinin and Marshal Voroshilov both spoke. M. Vishinsky, head of the Russian Foreign Office in Kuibyshev, was also present in addition to M. Lozovsky, who was my opposite number in Information Services. In the course of the meeting a speech which M. Stalin was then making in Moscow was relayed to our Opera House. Conditions from the technical point of view for such transmission could hardly have been worse. Weather, the enemy, distance, combined to create difficulties. Throughout the speech there were long periods when the Premier's voice was distorted and one heard nothing but shrieks and scratches. In England I am sure there would have been some sign of amusement, but there in the packed Opera House every listener was intent and eager and I saw no sign either of amusement or impatience. Indeed, throughout the speeches there was no mistaking the solid enthusiasm of the audience.

On other nights we had concrete evidence of the persistence of the cultural life of Russia. Whether in Baku, or in Kuibyshev, the people flocked to opera and ballet and concert, as they crowd into a cinema in this country. After I had seen in Kuibyshev the local ballet company perform "The Dying Swan," I remarked to Monsieur Lozovsky what a high standard the dancing reached. He told me to wait a few days to see how much better it would be performed in Moscow. We saw, next week, Madame Lepishinskaya, the première ballerina from Moscow, dance it—a joy never to be forgotten.

Still, it is the quality of these musical, dancing and operatic performances in the minor cities which is most remarkable and discloses most of the deeper interests of the Russian people. They may look to the Englishmen who meet them in the streets stolid and uninterested, but when you see them stirred by the beauty of sound and movement you begin to understand a little of the inner fires which light up the patience and endurance, which no one doubts, into the heroism which everyone to-day sees.

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Soviet Trade Unionism

by WILL LAWTHER

(President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain)

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution is a great commemoration not only for the Soviet people, but for all peoples of the world. The greatest revolution in the history of mankind is being celebrated in the midst of the greatest war on the issue of which depends their fate and ours.

They helped the toiling masses of every country by their revolution and they are helping us, indeed saving us, in the agony of Stalingrad. They are our allies and they are bearing the brunt of the struggle for the organised workers of this country to spur us to greater efforts. We are linked up with the Soviet Trade Unionists by the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, whose declaration of common aims ought to be known in every lodge, and in every Trade Union branch throughout this country as a basis for action.

This is already in the mind of great numbers of the organised workers, but there ought not to be a single mind, a single factory or workshop where it is not in the forefront of our thoughts and deeds.

I am glad to say that the miners, who bear a special memory of gratitude for the way in which the Trade Unionists of Soviet Russia helped them, more than all the world, in past struggles, are striving now to repay something of what they owe to the Soviet people. As a whole, the miners of this country are working with might and main to overcome the coal shortage, and so contribute their part to the defeat of the hellish Fascists and the destruction of the German army.

Trade Unionism in the U.S.S.R. is a splendid, free, militant Trade Unionism. Compared with the 1,000 Unions in this country, they have fewer than 200 Trade Unions. In this are enrolled 85 per cent. of those eligible for Trade Unionism. The Soviet Trade Unions protect the interests of their members, negotiate trade agreements with the managements and carry on regular meetings, both of their branches and of their district and national organisations.

Throughout the whole of the Soviet industry, and not only in the mining industry, the local unit is like the majority of our miners' lodges. That is to say the factory, mine or depot or other unit of production is at the same time the local unit of Trade Unionism.

But Soviet Trade Unions also look after the health and well-being of their peoples directly. I have seen some of the wonderful rest homes now defiled by the German soldier. I have seen the great rest homes at Sochi on the coast of the Black Sea, within a hundred miles of the fighting now going on in the west Caucasus. They are all that a workers' rest home should be and certainly better than anything we have in this country. But I am glad to say that this autumn in Britain we have managed to do something similar, at any rate, in the mine-fields, in setting aside buildings in pleasant surroundings as rehabilitation centres for members of the Miners' Federation.

The Soviet Trade Unions did not reach their present position immediately. It took years of development. But what remains amazing is that after they came out of the darkness of Tsardom they should have so quickly risen to the front rank, alike in their size and in the number of things they do for their members. They have grown year by year in numbers, but their capacity to take on new activities has grown ever more remarkable, and to such an extent that in 1934 all the work done by the peoples' Commissariat of Labour was taken over by the Trade Unions. Not only do they look after the material well-being of the peoples, but they also provide on a huge scale educational facilities. Finally they take a foremost part in helping the growth of production and never more than now when every ton of coal hewn, every piece of steel turned, is an essential element in the defence of their country, in the destruction of the hordes of Hitler.

Those who heard Shvernik when he was here in this country ten months ago will realise both what a tremendous part is played by the Soviet Trade Unions in this war and at the same time what an example they set to us over here.

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Those who read "Workers in the Soviet Union" by Andrew Rothstein can find there in compact form the essential facts which I cannot give in detail here. To some of these facts I personally can bear witness. For I had the privilege fifteen years ago, on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, to lead a group of British delegates to Moscow and beyond.

I went down in the Donetz Basin, now temporarily under the heel of the invaders. I remember in Gorlovka going down in the pits and inspecting all the conditions of the miners' lives at that time. They had not changed so much either in housing or underground as compared with what they had been under Tsardom. But there was one great change which they never failed to point out to me—"These pits are ours," they said, "and we shall make of them what we want."

Ten years later, in 1937, on the twentieth anniversary, I again visited the Soviet Union. Again I went down to the Donbass and again saw the same pits in the same locality. But they were no longer the same; they had been transformed. Underground, everything was mechanised, labour was lightened and yet the output was greater than ever before. Above ground was entirely new modern housing—conditions fit for anyone to live in. And not only houses, but great community buildings, palaces of labour, where every kind of cultural activity and advantage was at the disposal of the miners.

It is with these memories still fresh in my mind that I realise with what burning hatred the soldiers of the Red Army, the miners turned into guerrilla fighters in the Don valley, and every man, woman and child in the Soviet Union must now be doing their utmost to destroy the murderous Nazi bloodhounds.

The Trade Unionists of this country are bound to make the link with Soviet Trade Unionists ever closer. They must feel a burning duty to do it. But it is deeds, not words, that will count. And time is running very short; the response to Stalin's statement is overdue.

We must help them and in so doing shall help ourselves. Together the Trade Unionists of Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the united nations can be the core of the peoples' war against Fascism. We can and must inspire that burning hatred of the German Fascists that is in the breast of each fighter in the Soviet Union. Together we can destroy Fascism utterly; and then together can help build a new world.

We Salute the U.S.S.R.

by LADY MacROBERT

ENORMOUS changes have taken place in the world in the last twenty-five years. There is hardly time now, to look back to the day when the U.S.S.R. was founded, but we know that there has been a great deal of misunderstanding. We know what they have achieved. To-day, in their hours of supreme trial, even their enemies cannot refrain from praise.

We are allies in this, the greatest and most important fight that free men have ever had to undertake. We, the people of the United Nations, face such an enemy as the world can never have known; such a power of concentrated evil as would have been thought impossible in any form of mortal man. We know what such a power means. We have seen what happens to the workers, to everyone who falls into the Nazi power, when that pestilence overruns a country. Let us never forget that. Russia, Poland and others have cause to remember; they have suffered almost beyond our understanding.

There must be no more misunderstanding if we can help it. Understanding between the peoples is more than ever needed to-day. To strengthen our efforts it is, I believe, essential to rule out all party politics from our dealings with our friends. It took some people a long time to realise that this is a people's war, and very valuable time was wasted. This let the Nazis have a clear run of success.

The Russians have let us see now that, above all else, they love their country. They are ready to work for it, and fight and die for all they love when necessary. Are we all learning that lesson? We are all in it. The danger to the world of demo-

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cracy does not come from classes, but from masses of evil.

The nations, united, are now much stronger than when Hitler took on each individually. He and his sub-human liars would like to divide us. How he would like us to misunderstand each other—individuals and nations. That would help him. United in mutual understanding, in effort, victory will be won for all free peoples. That VICTORY can only come through the blood of heroes and fighters, at the great price of tears and sacrifice. By the sweat of workers in the factories and workshops, in the pits and shipyards, and in the fields.

We must all be workers or fighters. It all depends on each and every individual. There is no time to linger and argue, or measure our efforts or our sacrifice. Root out complacency if you find it. To slack now is to help the enemy, and interfere with the vital help for Russia, China, and our own boys in so many parts of the world—our life-lines. I have faith in our people and in our leaders. I am confident that everything will be done to surmount the difficulties and bring the Victory we must have.

We salute the valiant people of the U.S.S.R. and their indomitable fighting spirit. Only together can we utterly defeat this monster Fascism. Only through mutual understanding can the VICTORY bring the better world we pray, work, and fight for.

Throwing Away the Moral Offensive

by BERNARD SHAW

WE hear much nowadays of the importance of the military offensive. We cheer when we hear that the Russians have gained it, and gasp when the Germans regain it. We clamour for a united command in the military field. But in the moral field we are all over the political shop. The Church, led nobly by its new Primate, demands a Christian policy. And immediately Mr. Churchill throws away that moral victory by a stroke of crude retaliation in kind, and announces that he is "compelled" to do so. What is compelling him except his irascible temper he does not say, and probably does not know; for if, against all English principle, he were to let himself know what he is doing, he would realise that he is doing exactly what Adolf did, and is in fact playing Adolf's game. He can plead only that the game is the war game, and that he must play it with the Nazis, and will be beaten unless he is tough enough to play it more ruthlessly.

Now we are all agreed that morals play a great and even finally decisive part in the war game: we call Napoleon himself as a witness to that belief. The Fuehrer threw away a moral advantage when he chained his prisoners of war; and Mr. Churchill, instead of pouncing on this mistake and turning it to our account, actually copied it and left us hopelessly in the wrong. Even *The Times* and *The Observer* were shocked, and found themselves obliged by their consciences to say so, though they prefaced the confession by a few hundred words of abuse of Germany. All eyes turned to Sir Stafford Cripps: would he stand this? Why did he not stop it by telling the Prime Minister that if it were done he would have to resign? The burden of the old topical song, "If you stand that you'll stand anything" came back hauntingly.

All this was helped by the fact that the extreme Right in the Conservative Party wants to get rid of Mr. Churchill, or at least get control of him, whilst the extreme Left on the Labour side sees that Sir Stafford is doing no good as a member of the Government, and may go the way of Ramsay MacDonald and all the other victims of the Parliamentary career.

But this chaining business is only a splutter of German and British childishness which will soon be forgotten now that it is doubtful whether anyone was really chained. The Germans put themselves in the wrong by not appealing to Geneva or to the Red Cross; and we have put ourselves equally in the wrong and made ourselves ridiculous by pleading that we shot our prisoners because it was important at the moment not to make a noise. War makes people do these foolish things; and that is all about it.

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But it leaves us under suspicion of being no better morally than our enemies; and this is dangerous. The superior position among the Powers is clearly held by the Russians: they have abolished privileged idleness, exploitation of class by class, unemployment, and illiteracy. They have substituted public welfare for commercial profit and privately appropriated rent as the objects of honest government. What is more, they have achieved these objects so successfully that they have forced us in common decency to profess our devotion to the general welfare in Atlantic Charters, platform perorations, and newspaper articles. They have actually delivered the goods, while we, going much farther in cheap promises, have gone no farther in performance than war emergency has forced us to go, and apparently mean to retrace those steps by selling out to our capitalists, as after 1918, when the Russians have won the war for us. Edinburgh has made Mr. Churchill a burgess of that ancient city and sung, not "For he's a jolly good fellow," which would have been both true and genial, but "Keep right on to the end of the road." What is to be the end of the road? The dole? The Means Test? The millionaires ? Rather a Circular Road, that! We had better have stayed where we were and saved our blood, our bricks, and our bacon.

Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt must say not only what they intend to do in abstract terms, but how they mean to do it. Their good intentions may be left to pave hell: what the world wants to know is what measures they contemplate. Our Fifth Column is frank enough about its aims: it wants to see Russia beat Hitler and exhaust herself so much by the effort that the world hegemony will be left to western capitalism. Our ladies and gentlemen and our trade unionists pure and simple are Fifth Column. But there is a Sixth Column which is proletarian but cynically indifferent. Its attitude, if it had one, would be "What is Old Hitler and his National Socialism to us? He can't be worse than our damned parliamentary sham democracy, and our liberty to sweat ourselves until we cannot open a book without falling asleep over it, and to pay twenty-eight shillings a week rent out of a wage of £4 or less." That is where our real danger lies.

As to the remedy, we can learn all we need know from the experience of Russia, where all the beginner's mistakes have been made and paid for and discarded. From Old Hitler, too, we can learn. Nobody has seen more clearly, experienced more bitterly, or described more convincingly, the demoralising effect of unemployment, especially casual unemployment, than he. Nobody knows better that a democracy which consists only in giving votes to the victims of unemployment can do nothing but put all blame and the responsibility on them instead of on the Government.

Now Hitler's is not the only brain in Europe. Sir William Beveridge has all his knowledge without his absurd collection of phobias. Mr. Churchill is not impervious to commonsense and decency and feeling. He was the first English politician who dared to say that Lenin was a great man. He stood up against continuing the Black and Tan terror in Ireland. There is hope for him yet. There is hope even for Hitler's phobias. They began with Habsburgphobia, which developed into Slavphobia, then into Jewphobia, Marxphobia, Social-Democratphobia, Polephobia, Czechphobia, and Bolshevikphobia. He admired us as Nordics. But he has found us out, and found out all the other Nordics as well. He has ended with a Mankindphobia from which only Central Germans are excepted. Perhaps he will find them out, too, presently; and then we shall see what we shall see.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.

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Twenty Years' Collaboration

The significance of the Treaty of Alliance of the 26th May, 1942

by D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

ON May 26, 1942, a "Treaty of Alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe and of collaboration and mutual assistance thereafter" was signed between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain.

This treaty follows upon, and carries much further, a number of steps in the developing intimacy of two great peoples. The first of these, after Mr. Churchill's famous broadcast of June 22, 1941, was the Agreement of July 12, 1941, by which each of the two countries agreed to give the other mutual assistance and support in the war, and to make no armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement. The Atlantic Charter —in its original form of a declaration by Roosevelt and Churchill—followed on August 12. On October 15, 1941, came the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee Agreement. On December 29, the joint communique on the Moscow Conversations between Stalin, Molotov, and Eden recorded the "identity of views of both parties on all questions relating to the conduct of the war and especially with regard to the necessity for the utter defeat of Hitlerite Germany and the adoption thereafter of measures to render completely impossible any repetition of German aggression in future." Three days later, the Alliance of the United Nations, confirming the Atlantic Charter, was signed by all the twenty-six nations then at war against the Axis.

Then comes this Treaty. Whilst its First Part elaborates and "tightens up" the provisions of the July 1941 Agreement for mutual assistance in the war, and against any separate armistice or peace treaty, its Second Part is designed to have important effect over a longer period. Dealing with both the immediate post-war period and the more distant future, it begins with a declaration of the desire of both parties to unite with other like-minded states in proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period, and provides —pending the adoption of such proposals —for the taking of all measures to render impossible further aggression and violation of the peace by Germany and her associates; and it rounds this off with an agreement that if in the post-war period either party is attacked by Germany or any of her associates, the other party will at once come to her aid with "all the military and other support and assistance in his power." This agreement is to last until the parties recognise that it is superseded by the adoption of the proposals mentioned above for common action; or, failing that, for at least twenty years.

Even this is not the most important part of this treaty: there follow three more clauses, dealing with the less immediate future. These clauses, in a treaty between the country of Lenin and Stalin and the country of intervention and boycott, of Locarno and the Four-Power Pact, of Curzon and Austen Chamberlain, of Joynson-Hicks and Simon, of Neville Chamberlain and Citrine, of Munich and Dusseldorf-Prague, of the "phoney war" and the "switch," of the "expedition" to Finland, of the ships and gold of the Baltic states, are of such a character as to constitute the closest and most far-reaching alliance for peace-time co-operation that Britain has ever made.

By the first of these clauses—all of which are to remain in force for at least twenty years—the parties "agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration . . . for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe," and lay down the principles of seeking no territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

By the second clause the parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war; and by the third they complete the picture with an undertaking by each of them not to make any alliance or enter any coalition directed against the other.

Not the least remarkable feature of this Treaty, having regard to the general habits of treaties, is that it is not in any real sense aimed against any other (non-Fascist) Power. It is true, nevertheless, that to the right wing in Britain it repre-

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sents to some extent an alternative to that relation of half junior partner, half mortgagor, to the U.S.A. that was their only recourse until the very statesmen who had once painfully built a *cordon sanitaire* round the Soviet state were able to understand how the balance of advantage, even from their own narrow point of view, lay in favour of securing the friendship of the great new workers' democracy.

This unprecedented agreement must produce the most varied and far-reaching results. Leaving aside as outside the scope of this article both the provisions of the treaty for collaboration in the conduct of the war and the famous declaration—made in the communiqué of June 11, 1942, which announced the alliance—that "full understanding was reached between the two parties with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942," let us consider some of the benefits that may come from the Second Part of the Treaty.

Think for a moment of the salient features of the two very different countries that have made this treaty. The U.S.S.R. must not be regarded merely as a country which has solved many problems, built up a great balanced industrial and agricultural prosperity, and shown foresight in preparation for war and incredible efficiency and tenacity in the conduct of it. She is far more than that; she represents the fullest advance yet known in that historical process of development of which capitalism and socialism are stages; and on the level which she has already reached she displays potentialities of material and cultural advance which can only be compared to the energy that lies waiting in the atom. Britain, still a materially powerful country—although she has long been unable to stand alone in the "free-for-all" of twentieth-century imperialist throat-cutting—has all the difficulties and contradictions of the last overripe stages of capitalism; but she has a working-class movement with a fine history and traditions, which, when it once achieves unity in itself, will be strong enough to direct and determine the policy and the whole future of our people. The latent—and indeed patent—possibilities of co-operation between two such peoples in the present fluid period are almost infinite, and outweigh even the harm that has been done by the tragic non-co-operation of the previous twenty-five years.

That harm was heart-breaking enough. The years of vain attempts to put an end by every direct and indirect means to the new Socialist state did much more than merely hinder and slow up its material development and increase the material distress and economic decay of its capitalist neighbours. They established the conditions for the growth of Fascism in Europe and at the same time built up the military strength of Germany to serve the "one-way-gun" policy of making her the spearhead of the hoped-for attack on the Soviet Union; and they thereby both made the present world war inevitable and ensured that when it came Germany should be far stronger than would otherwise have been the case.

But it is more profitable to look forward and examine the possible fruits of future co-operation. Treaties have often enough been unrealities, but not always; and it rests with the people of our two countries to make a great reality of this one. Whilst it would be unprofitable and even dangerous to make blue-prints for solving post-war problems, it is easy to see that, whatever shape those problems take, we shall not merely gain an immense access of strength if we face them together with our Soviet comrades, but—what is far more important—we shall have in every difficult and crucial decision the counsel and co-operation of people in a more advanced stage of political and economic development, who have learnt by experience what policies consolidate progress and what lead to disaster, and have indeed already solved most of the specific problems which still vex us. Thus, as we co-operate with them, we shall not merely be strong, but shall also have much greater prospects of being right in judgment; to parody a much-parodied bit of nineteenth-century sententiousness, we shall call in the new world to redress the unbalance of the old.

What sort of problems shall we face together? There will be immediate post-war problems as to how to deal with the Nazis, how to deal with the rest of the Germans, what attitude to take to the new government that will arise in practically every country in Europe, what sort of Peace Treaty to make. Problems superficially similar, if in truth vitally different,

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were faced in 1919; the working-class movement was not then strong enough to influence the solution; and the ghastly results are well known. This time we shall face our problems with the aid of a people who have understood such problems, and talked and acted sense about them, ever since 1917, who have no *arrière-pensées* as to what to do with Fascism, and have a clear economic and political philosophy by which they can measure and solve their problems. (Their experts would not, for example, as Lord Cunliffe of the Bank of England did in 1919, have pledged their reputation that Germany could pay £6,000,000,000 in reparations without doing any harm either to her own economy or that of her "conquerors"). And as the collective wisdom of the British and Soviet leaders works out in conference the solution of first one problem and then another, the main lines of that solution are bound to accord with the views and principles of the Labour movement rather than with those of the Right, with a consequent and ever-growing access of strength and prestige to the forces of progress in Britain.

When the first stage is completed, and the Peace Treaty signed, we shall have to face a succession of longer and more varied problems, on which again, if we can maintain co-operation with the U.S.S.R., there will be the same greater clarity, long-sightedness, and consistency in working out solutions, and the same vindication of the views of the Labour movement. What is perhaps of the first importance—even if it be only one of many infinite possibilities of progress and healing which the working out of the Treaty may open up—is that in the course of this "second post-war period," after the Peace Treaty, this co-operation will also help greatly the solution of the innumerable internal problems that will beset what is now the British Empire. There is no question of either country interfering in the internal affairs of the other, or in those of any other state—that is expressly guarded against by the Treaty; but most of these problems will of necessity concern the peoples and governments of more than one country, and even where this is not the case the development of contact and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and the steady strengthening of our own progressive elements that will march with it will still have a direct and salutary bearing on the facing and solution of these problems.

Think of their range and variety, and of the difficulties that have so far beset their solution. Problems of the colour bar and of national minorities, which affect five-sixths of the Empire, that of sex discrimination, which affects the whole of it, the unemployment and hunger and all the other industrial evils that derive from a system of production based on exploitation, the continual frustration of the whole democratic structure of politics by the power of wealth, all these are problems which we shall be better equipped to face if we are in general co-operation with peoples who have so triumphantly solved them for themselves; and once again the views and principles which have guided them to their solution and must inevitably guide us to ours are those that inspire the best elements of our Labour movement.

In yet another field we may expect good fruit from our joint labours, that of Trade Unions and other working-class organisations. Here we have already laid these foundations of co-operation which —in such a field—should have been laid twenty-five and more years ago; and it is easy to see that under the stimulus of collaboration in other areas a tremendous development of friendship and understanding and healthy emulation must take place in this—the most important—branch of human activity. Here too the vista is limitless.

It would be purposeless to continue citing the potential advantages to be derived from the Treaty; the reader can think of them for himself. But it is worth while to re-emphasise in conclusion how much depends on the vigour and drive of a united Labour movement. Without such support and inspiration, this Treaty would not survive the formidable anti-Soviet forces that will surely seek to destroy its spirit and effect; but if at every stage, at each new turn and crisis and problem, in Germany, or France, or Italy, or the Balkans, in India or China, the conscious power of the British working-class, gaining momentum with each new success, leads and controls discussions and decisions in friendly co-operation with the Soviet peoples along

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the lines which have led them to epoch-making achievements, the Treaty will prove to be positively one of the greatest sets of words that were ever associated with deeds for the improvement of mankind. But to achieve this we must work hard to ensure the frustration of the many enemies and dangers that threaten our continued co-operation, and in particular the risk that our delay in fulfilling the promise of the Second Front in Europe in 1942 may be prolonged until it brings about a fatal degree of estrangement.

The great example of a People's Army

by Lt.-Col. HANS KAHLE

(of the International Brigade)

ON the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Soviet Union, battered, heroic and unconquered Stalingrad stands out as humanity's proudest bulwark of freedom, as the symbol of the unity and strength of the Soviet peoples and as an unparalleled example of soldierly and civilian resistance power and military science.

The glorious defence of the great factory and steel city on the wide and swift Volga by Russian soldiers and workers in autumn 1942 recalls the late summer days of 1918, when the same town—called Tsaritsyn in those days—met the attack of Denikin's White hordes. The military situation was very similar to that of to-day. "Shaped like a horseshoe with its flanks reaching to the Volga, the enemy's front contracted from day to day." Thus Marshal K. E. Voroshilov described in "Stalin and the Red Army" the position, and continues:—

> We had no means of retreat, but Stalin did not worry about that. He was filled with one concern, with one single thought—to achieve victory and destroy the enemy at all costs. . . . And we did achieve victory. The enemy was crushed and flung far backward towards the Don.

The defeat of Denikin at the gates of Tsaritsyn was the first outstanding victory of the young Red Army, whose official birthday is February 23, 1918, when its worker and peasant units, formed in accordance with the Soviet Government's decree of January 28, 1918, repulsed the German advance at Narva and Pskov.

Twenty-four years later the Red Army fights at the same place a second decisive battle. But it is a changed Red Army, incomparably better armed and equipped, considerably enriched in experience and advanced in military science and in the art of war. Its spirit has not changed in the proud history of outstanding victories and campaigns. The defenders of Stalingrad and the guardsmen who are reducing the Fascist "hedgehogs" of Rzhev are fighting with the same deep and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of the Russian people and of all progressive mankind, with the same high morale and patriotic virtues and the same unflinching will to destroy the invaders of Soviet soil as the garrison of Tsaritsyn in 1918 or the heroes of Perekop fought in 1920.

They are able to do so, because the Red Army is a people's army and the child of the October revolution. Its first soldiers came from the workers' Red Guard detachments formed in the industrial centres of Russia and the peasant guerrillas who were defending their homes and their land against the White robbers and the foreign interventionists. Its leaders of yesterday and to-day rose from the common people and passed through the hard school of civil and intervention war and of the later socialist reconstruction. As a true army of the people the Red Army achieved as no other army in the world the highest degree of unity of purpose, of unity of command and of a conscious but iron discipline.

In the process of forging the political unity and the fighting morale of the Red Army, of raising the educational standard of the soldiers and developing new military cadres from worker and peasant stock, the political and military commissars played an outstanding rôle. This story has never been better told than in that great and moving Russian film about the guerrilla leader and Red Army commander Chapayev and his commissar

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Furmanov. A recent decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has now invested Red Army commanders with single authority and abolished the post of military commissar, whose responsibilities for the political activities of the troops will be taken care of by assistant commanders. This decree is a clear indication of the tremendous unity of the Red Army, of the political development of its commanding personnel and of the strengthening of its discipline, achieved during the patriotic war of the Soviet peoples against the Fascist invaders.

Without this constantly growing political development it would have been impossible to make full use of the armament which Soviet industry since the beginning of its Socialist reconstruction was placing in ever increasing numbers and improved qualities at the disposal of the Red Army. Voroshilov, Timoshenko, etc., had to learn to use these splendid arms which were so different from the primitive weapons turned out by the hastily reconstructed plants in the time of the Civil War. They had to master military science, to digest scientifically the experiences of the Civil War and to study with critical assimilation the experience of modern warfare. It was in battle that they learned to direct and command troops. While studying themselves, they trained after the Civil War new cadres of commanders. The tremendous importance of these theoretical studies was summed up by Marshal S. K. Timoshenko in a speech to the graduates of the Soviet Military Academy:—

> Discussions on the major problems of military science have opened the way to bold individual and collective initiative, which is the foundation of military science and the art of war. . . . We have tapped a source of military theory which will thoroughly penetrate every fibre of our military organism.

Thus they created that skilled and experienced commanding personnel of the Red Army, the tens of thousands of young commanders who, after imbibing the heroic traditions of their elder comrades, have risen to the fore as men of a new Soviet generation. Many of them have now been made generals of the Red Army. An outstanding figure among them is the thirty-six year old Major-General Alexander Rodintsev, whose Guards division has covered itself with glory in the defence of the factory suburbs of Stalingrad. He was one of those unnamed volunteers who six years ago defended Madrid against the onslaught of the Fascists, and was trained at the Soviet Military Academy under the present Chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal Shaposhnikov.

But also a new generation of soldiers was educated in the great period of Socialist reconstruction and Five Year plans. In the process of the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, not only the workers, but also the collective farmers, grew up among machines and became acquainted with machinery in their work. So they could easily master the technical end of their military studies. General G. Zhukhov stresses this point in an article written for the twenty-third anniversary of the Red Army:—

> The Soviet young man enters the army with faith in the power of machinery and here this faith is strengthened in daily contact with fighting machines, mechanisms and weapons, and as he gradually acquires skill, his faith turns into mastery over the material. This is the foundation of the proficiency of the modern soldier.

The Red Army possesses a thoroughly trained and deeply patriotic personnel, ready to sacrifice its lives in the defence of the just cause of the fatherland. Its commanders are masters of the most advanced military theory. The armament of the Red Army is of the first quality and is constantly being improved by the most scientific methods, which are characteristic of a Socialist society. It was therefore able to develop and study modern mechanised warfare long before General Guderian trained the Hitlerite Panzer Army. The first parachute troops in military history were formed by the Red Army. The "Stormovik" assault plane has proved to be one of the most efficient weapons against tanks. But at the same time it never neglected the development of older weapons like the artillery or those of the infantry. Its social structure made it possible to give preliminary military training to millions of men and women and thus be prepared for waging a true people's war against the foreign and Fascist invader and organising guerrilla warfare on a mass basis in the rear of the enemy.

Under these political and military conditions the Soviet peoples and the Red

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MOLOTOV

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GORKI

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DUSYA VINOGRADOVA, leading Stakhanovite in the textile industry, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

ALEXEI STAKHANOV, whose feat in record coal-hewing on 30th August, 1935 initiated the Stakhanovite form of Socialist Emulation.

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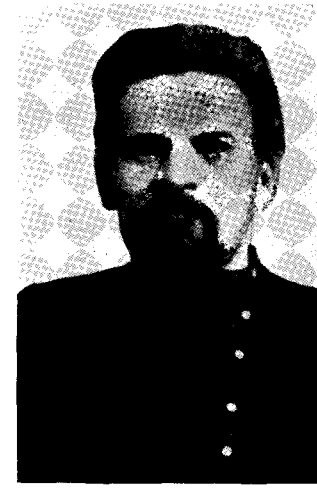
ORJONIKIDZE

SPANDARYAN

Four members of the Russian Bureau of 1912 (Chairman, J. V. Stalin) set up thirty years ago by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

SVERDLOV



KALININ

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DNIEPER DAM

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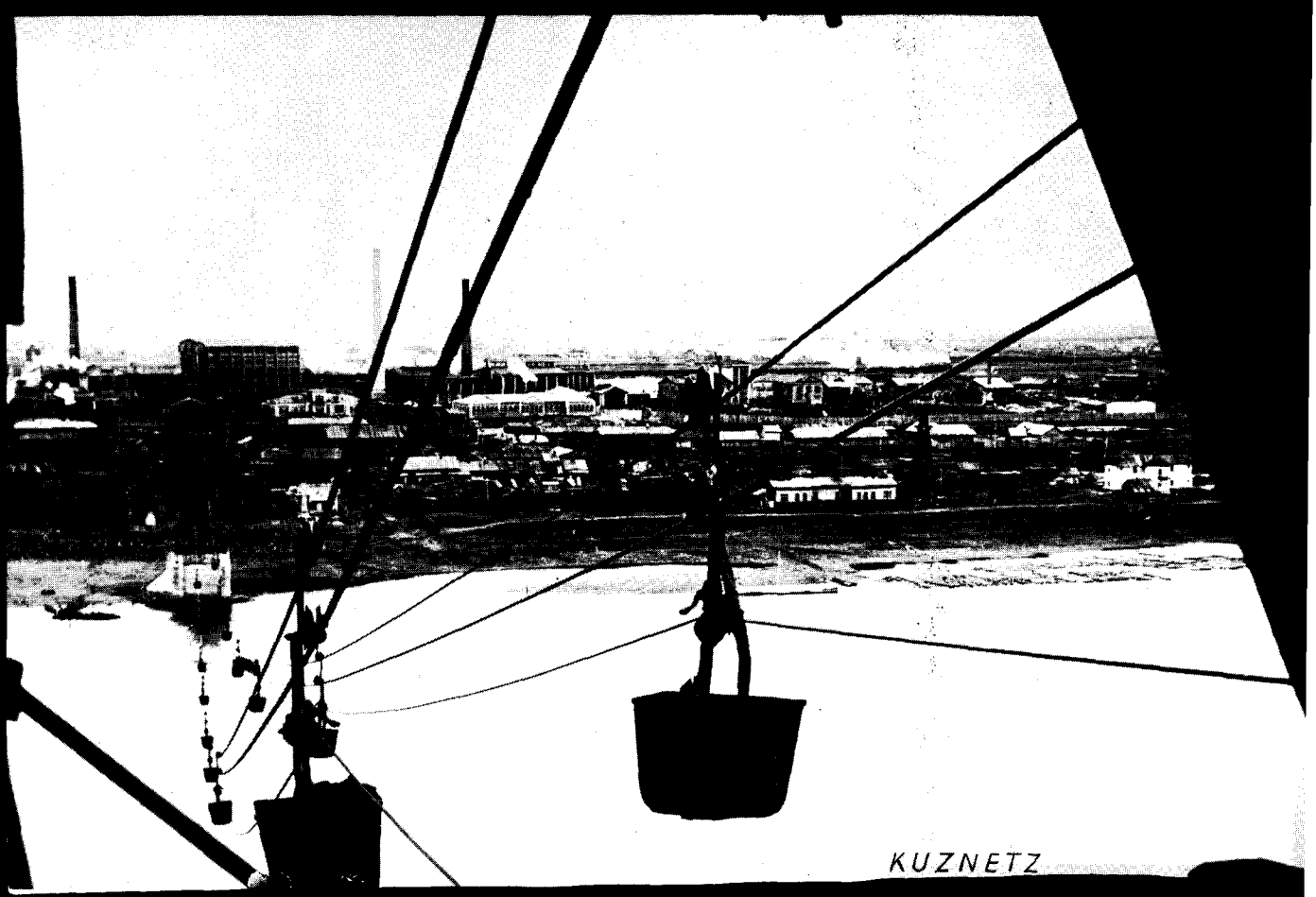

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Army could withstand—in spite of the loss of large territories—for over sixteen months the brunt of the full onslaught of Hitler's Fascist War Machine; could destroy the myth of the invincibility of the Hitlerite hordes and frustrate the German Blitzkrieg strategy. But more than that, the Red Army had the strength to strike back last winter with such a force that it drove the German army to the very verge of a Napoleonic catastrophe. It thus created the prerequisites for a successful allied offensive in the West which would have caused this spring the rout of Hitler and all he stands for.

Through the absence of that Second Front in Europe Hitler could again this summer strike against the Soviet Union by concentrating strongly superior forces on a narrow sector of the front. After the initial successes of Hitler's War Machine in the Donetz Basin, the Kuban and the Northern Caucasus, the resistance power and heroism of the Red Army has now forced the most bloody attrition battles of Stalingrad and Mozdok upon them, in which the German divisions are being bled white. In the battles of these last months the Soviet Union has lost important and rich regions and has suffered considerable losses of men and material. But its armies are still intact and capable of striking back vigorously against the enemy. Thus, upsetting once again the time tables of the German General Staff the Red Army has created for a second time in this year the strategic prerequisites for an allied invasion of the European continent.

Only a people's army which is so closely interwoven with the daily life and struggle of the Russian peoples, which has achieved complete political unity and has mastered military science has the strength to overcome such critical weeks as those of the break-through battles of this summer; and to change by the heroic defence of Stalingrad the whole aspect of a campaign. It thus inspires, in spite of the serious losses of territory and raw materials which occurred during this summer, not only the Russian peoples but the whole of humanity, with full confidence in the final victory over Fascism.

National Freedom in the U.S.S.R.

by MULK RAJ ANAND

When I am threatened "The old world will return,"
I fall to the ground and freeze in fear.
Give me a gun, comrade, give me some bullets,
I'll go to battle; I shall defend my land, my soviet land.

SO sang the Tajik collective farmer poet after the coming of dawn over Samarkand. And he gave a clue to the secret of that incomparable heroism with which he and his comrades of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are fighting to-day in the defence of their fatherland.

Among the obligations undertaken by men and women collective farmers, tractor drivers and combine-drivers of the Altai territory in Western Siberia to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Socialist Revolution are:—

To sow 10,000 acres of winter crops in excess of the plan.

To overfulfil the plan for winter ploughing by 7,500 acres.

To increase the number of large-horned cattle by 800, of pigs by 1,200 and of sheep by 2,000 in the remaining months before the end of the year.

"I'm lying here like a log," writes Mezenin, a native of Kushka, "the land of soft wind" on the Afghan border, wounded in battle, "but there are some wonderful apples on the table at my side."

And what is the exact reason for such faith and such courage, especially among a people so varied as those who constitute the 160 different nationalities of the Soviet Union?

The answer to that question is in a single prosaic sentence, in Article 123 of the Constitution, which runs: "The equality of the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law"; and "the advocacy of racial exclusiveness or hatred and contempt is punishable by law."

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I remember Shapurji Saklatvala telling me on his return from a visit to Soviet Asia how excited he had been to see all the colourful variety of the men and women of these Eastern republics, the bearded, beturbaned Kirghiz, the velvet-capped men from just beyond the borders of India, the unveiled women, freed from the restraints and the slavery of the old life, the white-clothed Uzbeks and the long-cloaked stalwarts from the ex-Lama lands of Central Asia. "They are so like our own people in India, in their habits and customs," said Saklatvala, "and yet how different they are from us: while they are united and happy, we are condemned to eat the bitter fruit of humilitation, and are kept divided. . . . We must get together, comrade, and fight. . . ."

The testimony of another great Indian, the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who visited Russia, confirms this. On his eightieth birthday in 1941, in a death-bed confession, he said:—

> I have been privileged to witness the unstinted energy with which Russia is trying to fight disease and illiteracy. Her industry and application has helped Russia in steadily liquidating poverty and ignorance and abject humiliation from the face of a vast continent. Her people have not observed distinction between one sect and another, one race and another. They have spread far and wide the influence of that human relationship which is above and beyond everything petty and selfish. Their astonishingly quick progress has made me happy and jealous at the same time. . . . While in Moscow I particularly liked one characteristic of Soviet administration and that was the pleasing fact that there was here no conflict of interest between the different races and religions; a truly civilised administration impartially served their common interests . . .

The note of envy in these travellers' tales arises from the awareness that while India is still a vast prison, the old "prison house of peoples," the ex-Tsarist colonies, were transformed under Socialism from being some of the most primitive, backward, slavish and poverty-stricken countries into becoming the advance posts of civilisation in Asia. The strain of nostalgia owes itself to the fact that these two witnesses saw how the Soviets had solved the "problem of minorities," which has been constantly declared to be an insurmountable barrier to India's emancipation, by giving the rights of self-determination to each of the various nationalities and by recognising that the forms of self-expression of their various peoples could only flourish on the basis of a sound economic policy. Perhaps these two Indians saw their own dreams come true in the large scale economic planning introduced into these Eastern republics, in the territories which the Tsars had bled white with taxes, the areas where the hunting, fishing and shooting aristocracy had once run amok, where all the fur-bearing animals had been killed off, forests cut down and the best soil expropriated and preserved in the form of large estates for the rich Kulaks. Perhaps my compatriots visited the Balkash copper smelting works, the Karaganda coalfields, the Chimkent lead factory, and the irrigation works of Tajikistan. They saw all the abounding new life in these republics, bursting in giant constructions, roads, railways, postal and telegraph systems, and longed for this to happen in their own land—in India. . . .

And we, the heirs to one of the oldest cultural traditions of the world, look breathlessly at the new poems, songs, dances and crafts of these people; we, who are denied the necessary mechanical devices to take full advantage of modern life, envy the mastery of the cinematographic, theatrical and ballet technique evolved by the Soviet peoples. We know that those who tell us that the technics of the new civilisation bring a decadency and uniformity are merely evading their responsibility, because we have seen the wide variety of cultural forms, arising out of the industrialisation of the Soviet East. We see that self-conscious planning does not necessarily kill the sensibility, but releases hidden chords of energy, frees the imagination for contemplation and leisure and tends to an inner and outer largeness as does a composition of music. And we are not afraid of the other argument that different languages lead to separatism, because the different nationalities and minorities in the U.S.S.R. have proved through their unity in this war how much nearer they are to each other because they are free to develop their own lives in their own ways. In fact, when we hear of proposals for federal union of British India with the autocratic native states, or of the federation of Europe, etc., we look for an example, not to those historians who float "companies of undertakers to allot the graves," but to these ex-colonies of the Tsarist Empire which are now

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federated into a union based on the complete equality of its component parts.

But one thing has always been unmistakably clear to me in India, and that is that just as it was impossible for reaction to stem the menage of the French Revolution, so it is impossible even by the most rigid censorship and official disinfection, to quarantine the ideas implicit in the great Russian Revolution. I remember the intense curiosity of the peasants of United Provinces, who travelled long distances to see an exhibition of Soviet posters in Allahabad in 1939. They were men and women who well understood what the great upturning had done for their likes across the border and they attached a deep meaning to their solidarity with the peoples of the Socialist Soviet Union.

The Significance of Soviet Archæology

by Professor V. GORDON CHILDE, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A.

THE establishment of the Soviet State gave the first real opportunity for the scientific investigation of the prehistoric treasures buried in the soil of socialised Eurasia and for the application on a large scale to prehistory of the interpretative concepts of Marxism. The great results achieved are less widely appreciated outside the Soviet Union than those obtained in the more practical natural sciences. For, after all, archaeology is a luxury science which can hardly be applied to increasing supplies of food or other forms of tangible wealth nor yet to armament manufacture and which—under capitalism—has in practice only been fully developed in countries that already enjoyed a certain superabundance of such wealth. But in the light of the materialist conception of history the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. recognised the historico-scientific value of archaeological material—consisting, as it largely does, of the instruments of production devised and used by societies of the past.

Accordingly, through all the agonising years of interventionist war and famine, the monuments of antiquity were respected and protected, the collections assembled in Tsarist times were studiously preserved, institutions for their care and study were maintained and extended, coordinated under the State Academy of the History of Material Culture (GAIMK). The scientific status of archaeology was explicitly recognised in 1936 by the incorporation of GAIMK in the Academy of Sciences as the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK).

Then Tsarist Russia had been as backward archaeologically as it was economically. Most of the old antiquaries had been too dazzled by the glamour of Scythian goldwork to observe thoroughly even the funerary ritual of its former owners (as Rostovtseff admits); in their lust for Greek *objets d'art* they generally ignored the unsightly remains that really illustrate the life of the native peoples; Asiatic Russia (apart from Transcaucasia) was almost entirely unknown. The grand programme of industrialisation embodied in the Five Year Plans, while it threatened some monuments with destruction, offered an unprecedented chance of correcting this deficiency. Members of GAIMK were therefore officially detailed to survey the regions concerned and to accompany the engineers and builders in order systematically to study and record what was turned up and to collect for the people's museums the portable objects uncovered. Socialist construction here provides a striking contrast to the methods of private capitalism—remember how the ruins of one of the oldest Indian cities were used as a quarry to ballast a hundred miles of the Karachi-Lahore Railway! The Soviet procedure has set an example to the richest bourgeois states.

At the same time archaeology has been popularised. For it is only with the cooperation of the workers and peasants that its materials can be effectively preserved and collected. So a public museum —the private collector who is often the bane of scientific archaeology under private capitalism has, of course, been liquidated—is not regarded primarily as a laboratory for specialists nor a gallery for connoisseurs, but as an educational institution (as in America). It is decked with models, maps and descriptive labels, and the tiresome rows of monotonously similar specimens that cumber our

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galleries are relegated to side cases or magazines, where experts can at leisure appreciate the inconspicuous but scientifically significant differences between them. The public cases tell a story. You may call that propaganda if you like. But the story differs from that presented in an American museum mainly in illustrating the life of the peasant as well as the landlord, of the slave as well as the citizen, and so unmasking the reality of the class conflict. In the same spirit, in ethnographic museums the knout and the vodka flask as instruments of imperialist exploitation are not omitted from the case of exhibits illustrating the life of a contemporary savage tribe. In any case the attentive crowds studying in the galleries of Moscow's Historical Museum give ocular proof of the success of the new arrangement.

Personnel had to be democratised too. The noble antiquary and the merchant collector were not likely to sympathise with the new regime. But most of the professional prehistorians of Tsarist days, notably Gorodtsov, the Nestor of Russian prehistory, have loyally helped to train a new generation and have welcomed the Marxist interpretation—sometimes with the *naiveté* and unbridled enthusiasm of a new convert.

To enumerate the specific discoveries of Soviet prehistorians or even the most dramatic of them would be tedious and, to most readers, unilluminating. Their nature may be judged by an example from the old Stone Age. This, the first and far the longest chapter in Man's story, had scarcely been studied in Russia before the Revolution; in France it had been classically studied for nearly a century, in England and Central Europe for more than seventy years. But after all this time Western prehistorians continued to depict our Ice Age forerunners as living, like the Australian aborigines to-day, merely in caves or wind-breaks.

It was left to Gorodtsov and Efimenko, Zamiatnin and Rogachev in the almost virgin soil of the U.S.S.R. to show that the mammoth-hunters actually constructed large and commodious houses in which they could withstand the cold of winters even more severe than now. For with brilliant technique these excavators have recovered from the *löss* soil the plans of these houses—the actual building materials have perished—so that reliable reconstructions can be made. Gerasimov has discovered palaeolithic houses in Siberia too—at Mal'ta. Incidentally, from this single station have been recovered as many statuettes carved out of mammoth-ivory as from the whole of France.

Now the wealth of new material gathered has been interpreted by novel methods. All prehistorians, of course, try to reanimate the dead bones—to recover the life of prehistoric societies and the environment to which they were adapted with the help of comparisons from modern savages and barbarians living under similar technological and environmental conditions.

But bourgeois prehistory, especially in Tsarist Russia, but to a large extent in Great Britain too, has been dominated by the idea of migrations. All too often has each important technological advance or change in burial ritual been "explained" by the assertion that it was "introduced" by fresh "invaders" from some generally remote and unknown cradle. Books on prehistory are overburdened with speculative attempts to trace these invasions. Thus one society after another is brought onto the stage, but being there does nothing till it is replaced by a new society. The real drama of prehistory is thus enacted mysteriously off-stage and merely reported by puppet heralds.

Soviet prehistorians, on the contrary, have made sustained efforts to explain changes in the archaeological material, and even in the anatomical material too, as results of the internal development of the societies themselves on lines sketched provisionally by Engels sixty years ago. Bonch-Osmolovskit's "Old Stone Age in Crimea," Tretiakov's "History of pre-class Society on the Upper Volga" and Kraglov and Podgayetskii's "Gentile Society on the Steppes of Eastern Europe" show how interesting and lively the results of this method can be. These studies of quite restricted areas offer plausible explanations for puzzling phenomena observed all over Europe too. Why, for instance, in the Late Bronze Age when bronze was much commoner than ever before, is the number of metal objects deposited in the graves reduced almost to vanishing point not only in

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South Russia but also in Denmark, Italy and Britain?

Incidentally, the method indicated provides a better ideological defence against the pretensions of Nazi imperialism than the expedient adopted by bourgeois prehistorians. German writers claim to trace with archaeological evidence ethnic movements wherein a flood of Nordic "Indo-Germans" ("Aryans") from Germany spread victoriously over Italy, the Balkans, South Russia and even the Caucasus. After 1914 Keith, Myres, Peake and the present writer tried to reverse this alleged migration and to bring Indo-Europeans and Nordics *from* South Russia even to Germany. But Krichevskii in 1932 showed that the archaeological changes hailed by the Pan-Germanists as results of, and evidences for, a Nordic invasion of the Danube basin from Germany could just as plausibly be explained by the internal development of the autochthonous Danubian societies (the change from an economy based primarily on cultivation to laying more emphasis on stockbreeding as a result of the disequilibrium of the former in the Central European environment and the consequent change in the relative positions of women and men).

It must be admitted that this and other early essays in Marxist prehistory were not quite free from a certain formalism and abstractness: one sometimes felt, for example, that Krichevskii was talking about an abstract generalised and therefore imaginary society and not the real societies whose variety and individuality are concretely reflected in the archaeological record. To refute the allegation that Soviet archaeology is scholastic and *a priori*, it is important to insist that precisely this tendency has been officially repudiated by IIMK's spokesmen. A reviewer in the last number here received of *Kratkie Soobshchenniya* (organ of IIMK) wrote:—

> The culture-historical process in different parts of the globe exhibits not only a common regularity, but also an unlimited variety of forms in which this community manifests itself as the result of active relations between ancient ethnic groups, races, languages and cultures. The historian's task, even in the domain of primitive society, is not only to establish the common unity of the historical process, but also to explain the really distinctively individual within it.

In conclusion, it has to be confessed that the significance of Soviet archaeology is very imperfectly appreciated in Britain. That is not due to any prejudice, at least in the minds of the younger British prehistorians. But Russian is really a difficult language and few archaeological articles have been translated *in extenso*. Russian books and periodicals are, and always have been, received by few libraries and institutions. Finally, Soviet archaeologists have been so engrossed in the immediately urgent business of rescuing and cataloguing what has been turned up by vast construction works, of rearranging museums and of training assistants and successors that they have really had very little time left for writing up results.

A greeting from S. O. DAVIES, M.P.

In twenty-five years Russia raised a whole people, inhabiting one sixth of the earth, from abject misery and poverty, illiteracy and superstition, to the vanguard of human progress.

In that short period they have built thirty Birminghams; they have solved the ages old problem of nationalities, and have made articulate, notwithstanding their series of different languages and dialects, nearly 200 million people.

In one generation they have brought into being many of humanity's greatest creative achievements.

Under the direction and inspiration of Lenin and Stalin they have pointed out the way and goal to the workers of the world. Witness the upsurging of the thousand million people in China, India, and other parts of the Far East.

The heroic and incomparable valour of the U.S.S.R. can only be understood and explained in the light of a classless society, where the unspeakable Quisling can have no roots, and where true freedom exists, and can only exist first in economic quality.

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Long live Stalin.

House of Commons, S.W.1.

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Soviet Industry

The Soviet Power Plus Electrification

by HUGH P. VOWLES, M.I.Mech.E.

TWENTY-FIVE years have passed since the greatest event in world history. For most of those years the British masses were bombarded with anti-Soviet propaganda. Every device of language, every dodge of the publicity expert, was brought to bear on the psychological weaknesses of the man in the street. This campaign culminated in 1939 with a crescendo of imbecility unparalleled even in the annals of the capitalist Press. Soviet tanks, we were informed, were made of cardboard. Red Army men had to be padlocked in their tanks to prevent them from running away. The men had no boots, no underwear. They froze to death in cotton uniforms. They had no food and were fed on "a sort of chemical pill soluble in water." No absurdity was considered too glaringly false for publication.

The day came when it was no longer possible to fool most of the people most of the time. The majority of British newspaper readers followed events on the eastern front with a sense of bewilderment. The Red Army with its cardboard tanks was successfully resisting the Nazi invaders who had pressed practically the whole man power and industrial production of Europe into their service. Against this colossal concentration of men and machines the Soviet people fought, and fought alone, for many months. Yet still they fight on—and still they fight alone—unbroken, undismayed, with superb courage and sober confidence in ultimate victory.

What is the explanation of this seeming miracle? Though it is no longer possible to conceal all the facts about Soviet progress, there will still be many asking themselves that question on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the October Revolution.

To understand the granite resistance of the Soviet people, it is necessary to see their development in historical perspective. During the later years of the Tsarist regime Russia's industrial resources were largely in the hands of foreign capitalists. Powerful monopoly syndicates ruthlessly exploited Donetz coal, Caucasian oil, the gold of the Lena goldfields, the manufacture of rubber and textile products, the generation and distribution of electricity. There was an almost complete disregard of efficient organisation. Despite Russia's vast potential resources in fuel, there were frequent fuel famines. Coal was transported long distances to regions possessing their own fuel resources, and was even imported from Britain. Similar irrational practices were a feature of other industries. Cheap labour enabled large profits to be secured, whilst the needs of the mass of the people were ignored.

Thus the Soviets inherited a legacy of undeveloped and inefficient industrialisation. Moreover, what productive equipment there was had been crippled and in some districts completely destroyed by invasion and war.

Lenin realised from the first that large-scale production was necessary to undermine the remnants of the old order, still at that time so deeply rooted in Russia's small-scale peasant ownership. It was necessary also to ensure the culture and material comfort of the whole population. It was necessary to provide ample means of defence against external enemies. But large-scale production must necessarily be based on ample power resources developed in accordance with the most advanced power engineering technique. Nothing more clearly indicates Lenin's genius than his famous saying that: "Communism is the Soviet Power plus the electrification of the whole country."

What did Lenin mean by the Soviet Power? In peace time the Soviets, from the supreme organ of state power to the smallest of village Soviets, were the organisers of the means for fulfilling the plans for economic and cultural development: for the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture, and for raising the material and cultural standards of the people. Closely linked to the workers' factory and other organisations, and leaning on the activity of the masses, the Soviets helped in finding new material

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resources for building factories, shops, machine-and-tractor stations, schools, hospitals, crèches, rest homes. They lent a hand in improving conditions in towns and villages, and in developing local and handicraft industries. They gave their enthusiastic and unremitting support to the task of fulfilling the plans for industrialisation and electrification ahead of time.

On Lenin's initiative the plan for the electrification of Russia, known as the Goelro Plan, was drawn up in 1920. What did Lenin mean by electrification? It is clear from a study of the Goelro Plan that he used the word not only in its ordinary sense of electrical development, but also in a more general sense to include the whole superstructure of industry erected on the basis of electrification. That is to say, Lenin thought comprehensively, not in isolated fragments.

The little electrification that had been effected before the Revolution was in the same chaotic state as the rest of Russian industry. The first step was to reconstruct this inefficient and shattered equipment. Secondly, the Goelro Plan included the building of thirty new power stations with a total capacity of 1,500,000 kilowatts. The whole plan was completed in the minimum time scheduled, ten years. In a series of Five-Year Plans initiated by Stalin the Goelro proposals have been greatly expanded.

As the result of Lenin's foresight and Stalin's guidance, combined with the wholehearted support of the Soviet people, the U.S.S.R. was already by 1937 the world's third largest producer of electric power. By that time also the Soviet machine building industry ranked first in Europe and second in world production. In ferrous metallurgy the U.S.S.R. held second place in Europe and third place in the world. The Soviet chemical industry occupied first place in Europe and second place in the world. Similar progress had been made in other industries.

Between 1937 and 1939 further giant strides were taken in every branch of Soviet industry. Not only so, but the Soviets forged ahead beyond the technological limitations of capitalist practice. Space will not permit detailed reference to the successful underground gasification of coal, the practice adopted in many Soviet cities of distributing hot water or steam through pipe networks from electric power stations to factories and workers' flats for heating purposes, the successful exploitation of tidal power, the development of new types of wind motors. To indicate the rate of industrial progress in recent years it must suffice to add a few notes on the great Volga project for power supply, transport, irrigation, and flood control.

On the completion the Volga project will convert the river Volga and its main tributaries into a deep-water transport system, linking Moscow with the Baltic, White, Caspian, and Black Seas. Three of the four main canals have been completed. The scheme provides for dams and a huge complex of hydro-electric power stations with a total capacity of about 12,000,000 kw. This includes the Hydro-Centre at Kuibyshev, which alone will have a capacity of 3,400,000 kw.—by far the largest hydro-electric installation in the world. Work was well in hand on this plant in 1939. Some of the other power stations included in the scheme had been completed, others were under construction. The project also includes for the irrigation of a semi-desert area about the size of Switzerland, lying east of the lower Volga.

It should be noted that hundreds of electric power stations, large and small, have been built in other parts of the U.S.S.R. It should also be noted that such work was undertaken whilst diverting an enormous amount of man power and materials to defence purposes.

The Fascist invasion broke off peaceful development. It placed new problems before the people and their leaders Everything had to be subordinated to the interests of the fighting front. In this work the local Soviets have played a part of first importance. They have directed the enthusiasm of the masses to such vital tasks as switching over factories to war work, helping with the evacuation of factories and workers to the rear, providing new housing accommodation for evacuated workers and their families, building fortifications, and so on. The city and village Soviets have also helped to provide suitable labour for the factories; to manufacture locally such tools as crowbars, pick-axes, and shovels; and to convert local and handicraft enter-

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rises for making military equipment. In general the Soviets render efficient service to industry, transport, and agriculture in the fulfilment of Government requirements and in the mobilisation of every local source of raw material, fuel, and equipment. Thus, using the word in its wider Leninist sense, "electrification" and the Soviet Power are as closely united in war as in peace.

To the ceaseless activity of scores of scores of Soviets must be attributed in large measure the fact that despite loss of territory and the devastation of war, the Soviet output of war equipment is now at least as large as it was at the beginning of the conflict. But it is not nearly so large as the vast European output controlled by the Axis powers. Britain and America can supply large quantities of munitions to the U.S.S.R. Our Soviet Allies say bluntly that to supply munitions is not enough. Who will have the hardihood to deny that they are right?

We must fight—together

by JOHN HORNER

(General Secretary, Fire Brigades Union)

AMID all the anxieties and horrors of the time, on this twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, I feel above all a sense of gratitude to those men and women who, first in history, proved that the working class could take power, keep it, and with it build for themselves a new world.

For it was they who laid the foundations of that Soviet Union whose strength twenty-five years later was to save this country from the savageries of this most foul of wars, and which will ultimately save the world from Fascism and a Second Middle Ages. Because of what they did a generation ago I can still write and you still read.

From a country weak from years of war, isolated amidst hostile nations, with a bankrupt economy and a starving people, those men and women built a force which now stands against the might of Europe press-ganged for Fascist war. The sneers, the doubts, the suspicions and the lies are swept away by the triumphs of this Soviet Power.

In this twenty-five years a new life blossomed out for scores of millions of people. Memories crowd on us this anniversary. The great Five-Year Plans, the flight to the Pole, Dnieprostroi, the grand education schemes, the Stalin Constitution. We recall the growth of the collective farms, a hundred million peasants meeting and mastering science, the Stakhanov movement. Countries of the old Tsarist Empire held in Asiatic bondage, oppressed, ignorant and poor, saw a new world before them.

We remember the rôle of the Soviet Union in the sorry years of the last decade. Their attempt to build a sound system of collective security. Litvinov at the League, the help to Spain and China. Over all, we remember those men and women who, with little but their own faith and determination, were to give the free world its greatest bulwark against domination.

That new way of living is now in danger and with it our old civilisation and our democracy. The farms, the great industrial plants, those new schools, are all threatened. Much has been lost. In occupied territory what has not been smashed in battle has been burnt by the people themselves. For these people fight as none have fought before. There is no secret in their fighting. They defend what is theirs. Twenty-five years ago they came into their own. To-day they fight to hold it. They blew up the Dnieper Dam. It was theirs. They destroyed the crops, burnt the farms, flooded the mines. All this was theirs. Now they fight not only for their factories and their homes, but for their way of life itself. They will win.

We in the British Labour movement, in sending greetings to our Soviet comrades on this anniversary, are determined that the time has gone when we shall merely applaud their heroism and salute their sacrifices. Twenty-five years ago they fought alone. Now they fight again—almost alone. They fight for us. For history in these twenty-five years has linked their destinies with ours and from now on we must fight—together.

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Soviet Biology

by J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.S.

IT is hard to learn fully of the achievements of Soviet science for two reasons. The first is the language difficulty. A few periodicals are published with excellent translations into Western European languages. Others have summaries in these languages. But for many a knowledge of Russian is not enough. Much work on wheat and on the physiology of human labour is printed in Ukrainian, work on cotton breeding in Turki, and so on. Secondly, many periodicals are not available at all in England, and nowhere is a good collection to be found. As there is no such sharp break between pure and applied science in the Soviet Union as exists elsewhere, much fundamental work appears in journals of technical and agricultural institutes, which are hard to come by. Soviet scientists seem to have much better access to the scientific work of capitalist countries than conversely. After the war, the provision of a library where the majority of Soviet scientific journals are available to British readers should be an essential measure in making the alliance of our countries a reality in the intellectual field. Meanwhile this article has been written from memory, as no references are available at my place of work.

Soviet biologists have certain advantages over their British colleagues, and suffer under certain disadvantages. Before the Revolution there were very few of them, and it was necessary to build up cadres on a huge scale after it. This meant that, just as during the period of scientific expansion in the United States a generation ago, a good deal of uncritical work was published. Thus foreign workers have been unable to repeat the results of Gurwitz on mitogenetic rays, which were supposed to induce division in cells, and this fact discredited Soviet biology. It is worth noting that Gurwitz had been trained in Tsarist Russia, and that the first refutation of his statements came from the Soviet Union. Also, until recently, laboratory equipment such as microscopes was very scarce. Thus Soviet workers were handicapped in a number of technical fields.

As against this they had the immense advantage of being the pick of the whole population rather than of a restricted class. Their work was part of the development of the productive capacity of their country, which was their government's main concern. Huge resources were put at their disposal, and they were backed by the keen and critical interest of the masses. Among their tasks were a survey of the wild and domesticated animal and plant life of the entire Union, and of the means for utilising it.

Thus about 1930 Vavilov and his colleagues were growing about 100,000 varieties of cereal near Leningrad, though not all varieties were sown every year. The best similar collection elsewhere consisted of about 3,000 strains of wheat. Again the whole resources of the Union were at their disposal. For example, all British sheep are adapted to be shorn for their wool. But in the northern parts of the U.S.S.R. there are sheep intended to be skinned for coat linings; in the southern part those which yield Astrakhan fur. These different types have been crossed and the inheritance of their characters has been studied. Doubtless the British Empire includes a still greater variety of cultivated plants and animals, but its governments are not primarily interested in increased production, whilst those farmers and land-owners who are so do little to encourage research. Hence, although the U.S.A. comes a good second, the Soviet Union leads the world in many branches of agricultural research.

In the field of natural history, not only have Soviet biologists surveyed much of their vast country adequately for the first time, but they have paid particular attention to the influence of environment and to local races, and have been able to watch evolutionary changes in progress. Thus Kirikov showed that a black variety of the hamster had spread from a comparatively small area in the late eighteenth century, displacing the typical grey form in woodlands, but not in steppes. Such changes are known in insects, but had not previously been described in mammals.

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Soviet expeditions have done fine work in foreign countries, especially with cultivated plants and their allies. Thus Vavilov's institute sent expeditions to Afghanistan, Abyssinia, and the Andes. The last-named visited the original home of the potato, and brought back frost-resistant and disease-resistant forms which could be crossed with the cultivated plants. It was not till fifteen years later that the economic value of this work proved so clear that a British expedition was sent to the same region. Unfortunately it went too late to improve our own potatoes during the present critical time.

Soviet plant breeders have achieved remarkable practical results. Among the more striking are the production of plant breeds, including not only cereals, but strawberries, adapted to the Arctic, and the cultivation of the kok-saghyz, a plant resembling the dandelion, which yields rubber, and in the present crisis is being grown in various places outside the Union, including Massachusetts. Other results are of very great theoretical interest. For example, by crossing wheats with perennial grasses, perennial wheats have been made, which no more require annual sowing than do meadow grasses. And by intercrossing of wheats, a new species, *Triticum sovicticum*, has been created, with fifty-six chromosomes, whereas the wheats used by neolithic man has fourteen, macaroni wheat twenty-eight, and bread wheat forty-two. It is too early to be sure of the economic value of these forms.

The animal geneticists have done much work of abstract importance. Vassin has mapped genes in the chromosomes of the sheep as workers elsewhere have mapped them in the mouse and rabbit. In the fly *Drosophila*, which has been studied for thirty years in the U.S.A., Berg was the first to show that genes responsible for fertility were particularly common in the sex-determining X chromosomes. Soviet workers were the first to study the genetical structure of populations. Beginning with poultry and cattle, they worked on insects on a very large scale, and Tsetverikov showed that apparently uniform populations harboured vast numbers of recessive genes yielding new types when normally outbreeding populations were inbred.

The Soviet Union certainly leads the world in artificial fertilisation. Semen from the best bulls and rams is distributed over wide areas by aeroplane and carrier pigeon, and this has led to an extremely rapid improvement of livestock. But this was only made possible by close scientific studies both of the physiology of reproduction, and of the life processes of spermatozoa kept in artificial media.

In the field of plant physiology, Maximov and others have done fine work, especially on the life of roots, but the most striking discoveries are those of Lyssenko, which I have already described in the *Daily Worker*. He has shown, among other things, how seeds which are normally sown in autumn, and do not begin serious growth till spring, can be made to produce normal plants when sown as late as April. This has made it possible to grow wheat varieties which are generally sown in autumn, in regions where the winter is too cold for this to be practicable. He has applied similar principles to many other plants, including the potato, and this has made it possible to extend the area under some important crops by thousands of square miles.

Corresponding work on animal development has not yet led to important practical results, but Soviet workers have done a great deal in analysing the complicated processes by which one part of a developing embryo determines the development of other parts, for example, whether a particular set of cells will become skin, eye lens, or nerve. In this field they are behind the Americans, and perhaps the Germans, but definitely ahead of the rest of the world.

In the field of animal physiology Pavlov's work has been continued with special reference to the factors which determine the different kinds of temperament in dogs, which are believed to correspond with temperamental differences between men. The modern technique of blood storage for transfusion purposes was largely worked out by Bagdassarov, and other workers have pushed the technique of blood transfusion near to its limit in the case of dogs. These have been revived by injections of oxygenated blood as long as fifteen minutes after they had bled to "death," in the sense that the heart had

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ceased to beat; and have then lived normal lives for several years. The extension of these methods to man will make it possible to operate on the heart while the rest of the body is supplied with blood from a pump, and thus to cure heart diseases which are at present always fatal.

In animal biochemistry Braunstein and Kritzmann discovered an enzyme called transaminase, which transfers nitrogen atoms from one part of a protein to another. Living proteins are far from being static. They are constantly being taken to pieces and put together again. In fact, their identity from day to day is more like that of a flame or a waterfall, which keeps its form while changing its substance, than that of a dead protein. Engelhart and Lyubinova found that one of the enzymes in muscle is identical with the contractile substance, myosin. Hence for the first time we know the exact chemical process whose energy is converted into work when the muscle contracts. We also realise that when we describe a certain protein as an enzyme we are at least sometimes being undialectical. The protein causes a chemical change to occur, but in so doing it is changed itself, and the change has important consequences for the cell of which it is a part.

The average Soviet citizen is almost as interested in biology as in engineering. This was forcibly brought home to me in 1928, when the tercentenary of Harvey's discovery of the blood circulation got a good deal more publicity in Russia than in England. I was travelling in a Moscow suburban train with a biologist. One of our neighbours was trying to do a competition in a weekly paper which consisted in naming twelve faces. The biologist borrowed the paper, and showed me that one face was Harvey's. I doubt if Harvey's face is well enough known in his native land to figure in a competition.

Again, in the Soviet Union school nature study is not merely a matter of learning, but of discovery. The children in thousands of schools have trapped and ringed migrating birds, which were then released and caught elsewhere. In this way paths of migration were mapped, and the children learned what research was like, and also that you got far more enjoyment by observing birds than by killing them. As an example of the intense interest shown in animal life, it is worth noting that in 1932 it was much easier to buy tropical fish in Moscow than in London.

The remarkable progress in Soviet hygiene, and the surprisingly high recovery rate from war wounds are, I think, due in part to the fact that for the first time in history the ordinary man, woman and child are beginning to think scientifically about themselves. This is perhaps the greatest of all the achievements of Soviet biology, and the one with the greatest promise for the future of mankind.

The U.S.S.R., a Nursery of Genius

by SIR PETER CHALMERS MITCHELL, C.B.E., F.R.S.

TO-DAY I associate my warm gratitude with only one of the gifts which the November Revolution has brought to the peoples now united as the U.S.S.R., and through them to the whole world.

What we call genius differs in kind from the most highly-trained natural ability. It may scorn tradition, effect revolutionary change, open new vistas in the arts and sciences, the farm, factory or laboratory, in the inspiration of men and the management of their affairs. It may be compared with what biologists call a "sport," an abnormal individual whose appearance cannot be predicted or contrived by our present knowledge of breeding. A sport of value, and not merely a rogue, is very rare, and there is a greater chance of its appearance in the two hundred millions of the U.S.S.R. than in the fifty millions of Great Britain

But there are factors which can prevent the genius remaining what our English poet Gray called a "mute inglorious Milton," and in these the U.S.S.R. ha much more than its arithmetical prepon derance.

First there is the system of educatio by which each Soviet Republic rears it own members, in their own language an traditions, through the simplest elemen

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tary education up to, according to natural inclination and aptitude, the highest forms of art and science.

Next, there is the social awareness, growing greater day by day, of the Socialist peoples which enables them to detect, value and encourage all the possibilities of their fellows.

Lastly, the rare individual cannot be exploited or corrupted by money, but can feel that he is giving his best to and for his fellows.

It is my belief and warmest hope that the U.S.S.R. will soon pass through victory to her great work for the future of herself and the world.

In the service of Science

by Sir RICHARD GREGORY, Bt., F.R.S.

There were great Russian men of science of international renown before the Revolution in 1917, but they were mostly isolated specialists working with little encouragement except from their colleagues at home and abroad. Under the Soviet Union, there has been a wider and more rapid expansion of scientific education and more extensive applications of technical training to industrial, agricultural and medical needs than any country has ever before experienced in a similar period of its history.

The few scientists who devoted their lives to the advancement of natural knowledge under the Tsarist State have become a great force of highly-trained members working with deliberate plans to increase such knowledge in the service of science and the development of natural and national resources for the benefit of the community. In its system of State organisation of scientific research and the planning of discoveries of new facts and resources, the Union has departed from the monasterial tradition of scientific investigation and made the utilisation of science the purpose of activities in both the laboratory and the field.

The full story of achievements in this new Soviet world of science has not yet been told, but most British scientists know that within the past twenty years Russia has made advances far greater than ever before in her history. That is why the Union has been able to defy and repel the scientific forms of cultivated barbarity against which the United Nations are now fighting. Russia is undergoing martyrdom in defence of what are the fundamental rights of all peoples, and every human heart throbs to-day in sympathetic admiration of its strength and sacrifice.

Messages

From Sir William Bradshaw, J.P. (Chairman of the Co-operative Wholesale Society)

You asked me if I would send a message *re* the U.S.S.R.'s twenty-fifth Anniversary of Revolution.

Russia is one of the very few countries in Europe I have never visited, but I have had the *pleasure* of meeting many Soviet people and have some knowledge of their business relations. I must confess that I was for some time averse to the Soviet rule in its earliest days, but I have lived to alter my views, and now I have every regard for its aims for the betterment of its people.

My business experience with the Soviets has compelled me to regard them as straightforward, and their conscientious adherence to their undertakings has seriously and favourably impressed me.

I regard them as valuable and helpful allies in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism. We, in Britain, owe a deep debt of gratitude to our Soviet Allies because of their courageous fight for democratic freedom, and I have the greatest admiration for their determination and sacrifice in our common cause.

I look forward to a lasting and understanding alliance between our country and the Soviets. May our understanding of each other be deepened, and I venture to express the hope that, in the days of peace which will follow the victory yet to be secured, we will foster and develop our alliance as nations.

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From Andrew Naesmith

(General Secretary, Amalgamated Weavers' Association)

Within a span of twenty-five years Russia has performed a miracle which has confounded her enemies and astonished even her friends. The changed conditions as between the last war of 1914-18 and this present war will be recorded by history as one of the most remarkable achievements of the ages. Not only has Russia developed in an economic, material sense, but, still far more important, has been the spiritual development of the people. I do not mean in the strictly narrow, religious sense, but in the development of those intangible qualities which makes a people truly great.

In spite of a mass of prejudice, ill-will, and deliberate misrepresentation, Russia has made for herself in the world a place both particular and peculiar. Bordering Europe and Asia as she does, and thus occupying a central position between two continents, she has made herself a pillar of attainment which is bound to have tremendous repercussions at the end of this war upon the peoples bordering her territories and even still farther remote.

In this hour of crisis we celebrate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution with acclamation, knowing that out of the cruelties, injustices and exploitations of the past she has, by her struggle against aggression and foreign oppression, stood firm for those ideals which inspired the founders of the U.S.S.R.

Ewbank Chambers,
16, St. James Street,
Accrington.

From Harry Adams

Chairman of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers

In celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union, we are forcibly reminded of the main reason for the possibility of the Soviets' total war effort and the magnificent courage displayed by the Soviet people, Red Army and Navy.

The only "vested interest" is that of the whole of its citizens and there is complete understanding between leaders and people.

It can truthfully be stated that but for the glorious events of 1917 Fascism would have triumphed before 1939, and that the peoples of the world have so far been saved from the possibility of permanent slavery to the German Reich.

Those peoples who are at present in bondage because they failed to appreciate the significance of the events of 1917 in Russia now know that their sufferings are temporary and that the determination of all free peoples, despite their limitations, to achieve the greatest unity with the Soviet Union, will lead to ultimate victory, freedom for all, and will mould the shape of things to come. We must show by our achievements in industry and on the field of battle that our understanding is equal to our admiration for the deathless heroism of the Soviet people, the guerrillas, the Red Army and Navy. Comradely greetings to them all and their great leader, Stalin.

"The Builders,"
Crescent Lane, South Side,
Clapham Common, S.W.4.

From Gen. Sir Hubert Gough

I am very pleased to contribute a message to our Russian Allies, on the anniversary of their present state. For indeed the British Commonwealth owes the Russian people an immense debt for the stubbornness, the fortitude and energy, with which they have met the onslaught of the Nazi armies.

The resistance of the Russian Army has made victory not only possible, but certain for the Allied Nations. Let us go on together in full confidence in each other to meet our vile enemies, and in due course to punish and crush them and then to re-establish peace and order in the world on a solid foundation of friendship.

14, St. Mary Abbot's Court, W.14.

From the Duchess of Atholl

I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt admiration of the heroic resistance the Soviet Russian Forces and Russian people are offering to the terrific German onslaught on their country. They are giving us an example of courage, endurance and sacrifice which is beyond all praise and I find but one opinion on this matter.

Eastwood, Dunkeld.

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From Harold Taylor

(Chairman of the Co-operative Productive Federation)

IT is impossible to read of the position in Russia from 1900 to 1916 without being appalled at the ignorance and primitive conditions prevailing during those years.

The rulers were callously indifferent to the claims of the masses of the community, when millions were scarcely one degree removed from beasts of burden. Food was scarce and poor, housing conditions indescribably revolting, clothing was inadequate, and life primitive.

Co-operators have always been sympathetic towards other peoples because they recognised the basic oneness of common humanity.

The pioneers of our movement have been cast in the same mould as the leading figures in Russian history who have ventured all for their comrades.

Many of us remember the days in 1905 and the agonies and tortures that were endured by the workers, of their yearnings after a fuller life, and their aspirations.

Russia has given us great contributions in the past, especially in the realm of literature and music. Those writing of Tolstoy, Dostoievsky and Kropotkin; those gems of music composed by Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and others too numerous to quote.

It is impossible to express our indebtedness to those great men of vision and action like Lenin and Stalin, together with those hosts of lesser known men and women who have helped to mould the social order in Russia.

No critic to-day despises Russia, but what a lamentable comment upon our own attitude towards them. If only we had helped them in 1917 instead of showing a crassbound hostility; if we had sympathised with them in their strivings, encouraged them in their experiments, and shared their experiences in trying to construct a new order based upon native equality in place of class distinctions, the picture of the world would to-day have been vastly different.

Russia has shown us that a large area can be united under a common ideal with all its different languages, climates, customs, and characteristics. Russia has been enthused with a social passion based upon a moral purpose and this has been manifest throughout the past years with her many struggles. Russia has shown what real co-operation means applied on a gigantic scale.

In our salutes to Russia in these desperate days we hope in the days to come that a much greater contribution may be made in this gigantic undertaking.

The workers in the Co-operative Productive factories are fully alive to the big issues at stake and as they have shown their practical sympathy in the past, they will continue to exercise the same influence in the future, and we hope that when the desperate struggles of the present period have passed, we shall all unitedly do our uttermost to achieve that greater social ideal and may help in cementing the relationships of all peoples.

From Alfred Barnes, M.P.,

Chairman of the Co-operative Party

The Russian Revolution of twenty-five years ago which created the U.S.S.R. has been vindicated before the whole world in the thrilling devotion, heroic courage, and in the magnificent resistance of the whole Russian peoples as expressed in the defence of Leningrad, Moscow, Sevastopol, and above all of Stalingrad.

From Alderman Luke Hogan

Speaking, I think, on behalf of the whole population of this great city and most certainly of all the working class interests in it, I would like to add our feelings of admiration for the magnificent fight which our Russian friends have made to not only protect their own rights but to ensure freedom and liberty throughout the world.

To those of us who have watched with great eagerness and sympathy the steady progressive policy of Soviet Russia before the war, her heroic resistance against aggression is no surprise, but the example they are showing to the world cannot fail to have profound effect upon the post-war reconstruction.

We salute Soviet Russia, and all of us, in whatever way is open, should combine, organise, and agitate so that at the earliest moment we shall take such measures, militarily, economically, and industrially, as will convince Russian friends that we are with them to the bitter end.

15, Gambier Terrace,
Liverpool.

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From Lord Horder, G.C.V.O.

As President of the Anglo-Soviet Public Relations Association, I wish to join heartily in your celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the U.S.S.R. Few of us foresaw how magnificently the young and vulnerable Republic would withstand the shock of the present Nazi attack upon its very existence. Its intrepid courage and its loyalty to the Fatherland and to the social ideal of the people surely must lead every thinking nation to exclaim: "Oh! be my friend and teach me to be thine."

From Professor J. Chadwick

It is a privilege, on this occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Union of Soviet Republics, to be asked to send greetings to my colleagues in Russia, to those whom I know personally and whose friendship I prize and to those whom I know only by name and reputation. I have watched with appreciation the great advances which have been made in Russia in all branches of science during the past years and I have admired the extraordinary ability, energy, and above all the far-seeing vision which have been shown in the application of science to the development of the resources of your country.

Your achievements, which in times of peace have raised the standard of living of your people, are now contributing in no small measure to the ability of your country to resist our common enemy and will help towards his final and complete defeat. In this country also the efforts of all scientists are bent to one single purpose—the preservation of freedom and the destruction of Hitlerism. Three years of war have not daunted the resolution of our people nor weakened our faith in the justice of our cause. The magnificent resistance of your army and the passionate faith of your people are a vital inspiration to us all and we work eagerly to prepare for the day when our armies can join with yours in a closer combat with the enemy.

I rejoice that this struggle against inhuman oppression has united us and you in a common cause and I hope that this collaboration between our countries, begun in the interests of defence against a common foe, will continue in peace for the benefit not only of our own two peoples, but of all mankind. I believe that our political differences are small compared with our agreement on the fundamental issues of right and justice, and I trust that we shall continue to recognise this even when the circumstance of war no longer presses it upon our notice.

George Holt Physics Laboratory,
The University, Liverpool.

From Sydney Chapman

(Professor of Mathematics, Imperial College, London; President of the Royal Astronomical Society, and of the International Meteorological Association

Salute to the Soviet Union for its heroic share in the United Nations' struggle for liberty and humanity, to the Soviet political and military leadership before and during the war; to the endurance, courage and dash of the Soviet soldiers and fighters, men and women, and to the Soviet scientists and engineers, who explored and studied the great natural riches of their country, and guided their fellow-citizens—farmers, miners, factory workers—in the communal use and development of these riches, for the social welfare and for military defence.

From Aleck Bourne, F.R.C.S.

British people are conscious after all the years of deception that the U.S.S.R. has made an outstanding contribution to humanity. It is obvious that the immediate phase of this contribution is the amazing resistance offered by the Red Forces, but perhaps there is an even greater part which the Soviet Republics are playing.

The "Russian Glory" is not only the quality of the fighting by the Red Army, but the astonishing unity of the whole Russian people. They are inspired by an ideal or national purpose which has bound them into one people. They have shown the world that when a nation is inspired by a Purpose its achievements are almost unlimited.

We hope that the example of a Purpose may be an inspiration to the British people to find a Purpose which shall bind them into one united nation both now and after the war. Only by such unity and moral zeal can the peace both for ourselves and the whole world truly be won.

12, Wimpole Street, W.1.

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From Prof. M. Greenwood, D.Sc., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.

One of the dogmas devoutly believed by all Englishmen with no knowledge of science (*i.e.*, practically all Englishmen who hold key posts in public life) that German science is far superior to any other science has never been seriously shaken. At the most, one of our "leaders" might go so far as to admit that, since the coming of the Nazis, German science has deteriorated, but, were he told that in some important branches of science the Germans *never were* superior to the Russians, a smile of magisterial ignorance would pass over his face.

In the branch of science which has been my life study, the theory and practice of statistics, this happens to be the sober truth. In the last eighty years no German, with the partial exception of Wilhelm Lexis, has done absolutely first-rate original work in the theory and practice of statistics, while the names of four Slavs, Cebysev, Markov, Chuprov and Bortkevich are, or ought to be, household words. With their usual arrogance the Germans would probably claim Bortkevich—who taught in a German university—as a "cultural" German. Just as Sussmilch, who laboriously copied the work of the Londoner John Graunt, is supposed by Germans to have founded Vital Statistics.

Of the four great names cited, Chuprov is the greatest, and I believe his pupils continue his work in Soviet Russia. I know that in *all* countries at war published statistics have become mere propaganda, but I do not doubt that, even under the frightful difficulties of the time, Chuprov's pupils carry on and I wish them God-speed.

I dream of the time when Russian, American, English and Italian (immensely superior to German) statisticians may once again be able to learn one from another. In the meantime, let anybody who still believes the nonsense of Slav "inferiority" read some of Chuprov's writings (many are available in English, French or German) and grow wiser.

London School of Hygiene and
Tropical Medicine,
Keppel Street, W.C.1.

From Sir Leonard Woolley

As an archaeologist I am anxious to bear witness to, and to express my gratitude for, the active interest which the Soviet Government has shown in the ancient history of the vast and diverse areas comprising the Union of Soviet Republics. It is indeed a mark of liberal humanism to recognise the moral value of those studies of past progress which are made possible by archaeological research, and such research the Soviet Government has promoted and encouraged on the most generous scale. The Soviet Government and the many able scholars and scientists whom it has enlisted in this cause are pursuing a long-term policy of popular education which will not affect their own Russian peoples only, but will contribute largely to the world's self-knowledge and to understanding between nations.

From Sir Arthur Smith Woodward

As I visited Russia three times before the Revolution, and have been an Honorary Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 1925, I have long been interested in Russian scientific research. There is no nation in which the Government takes a more direct interest in the promotion of intellectual pursuits than the Soviet Union of Social Republics, and it has always specially encouraged the advancement of Natural Science.

The present organisation of the Academy is admirable, and all who have followed its progress will wish to send these greetings and best wishes for its future successful achievements.

Hill Place,
Haywards Heath, Sussex.

From Julian S. Huxley

As a scientist, I should like to pay my homage to the remarkable achievement of the U.S.S.R. in expanding the volume and scope of scientific research, and in focusing its application on the problems of national and general human welfare.

Zoological Society of London,
Regent's Park, N.W.8.

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From P. G. Barstow, M.P.

The titanic struggle of our Soviet comrades holds the attention of the people of all countries, and even the people here who have devoted all their energies to breaking the power and strength of the Socialist fatherland during the past twenty-five years are grateful to our comrades.

The web of lies and illusion created by the forces of vested interests of all sections is blown away and the ordinary citizen looks to the future confidently in the knowledge that the example of our Soviet comrades will determine the future happiness and security of the peoples of Europe if we Socialists in Britain do our duty.

House of Commons, S.W.1.

From Professor Wood-Jones

Salutations to those great workers of the U.S.S.R. who have in so short a time raised the standard of science as applied to the needs of mankind to levels never before attained, nor yet attained to elsewhere.

The University,
Manchester.

Fraternal Greetings

on Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution

Austrian Communists in U.K.

It is twenty-five years since under the strong leadership of Lenin and Stalin you raised the banner of socialism over a sixth of the world. With ardent resolution you stamped out during these days all remnants of the reactionary past. The Soviet Union has not been and is no soil for Mussolinis and Hitlers or for fifth columnists. The victorious October Revolution has prevented such a development once and for all.

Again it is you who stand in the forefront of the struggle defending the future of humanity with your very bodies. For sixteen months you had to bear alone the whole brunt of this war against the furiously attacking Huns. They are trying to destroy everything you have built up during the ast twenty-five years, achievements which have no equal in the whole history of mankind.

Not only have you to fight the Nazi hordes of German nationality. In their ranks are Austrians, traitors to their country, who act as the tools of the murderers of the Austrian people and its independence. They shall perish hated and despised.

But there are other Austrians, real patriots, who fight the Fascist invaders side by side with Yugoslav guerillas. In Austria itself the underground movement is fighting on with unfaltering courage. During the last few weeks yet another ten Austrian patriots, fighters for freedom, members of our party among them, have been executed. Neither force nor terrorism can stop the ever-growing resistance to the blood-stained Hitler regime.

On this 7th of November, day of the greatest glory and sacrifices in the twenty-five years' history of the great Soviet Union, we salute you with deepest gratitude and in solidarity. We pledge ourselves to devote our entire life and strength to fight for the day, when all allied nations, roused by your example, will with still greater energy smash Fascism now and for ever.

LEOPOLD HORNIK.

Czech Communist Greetings

Twenty-five years of Soviet power in what before had been Tsarist Russia—twenty-four years of the Czechoslovak Republic. It is not a mere coincidence that the Czechoslovak Republic came into being shortly after the Russian working class had assumed power under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. Under the impact of the hard blows of the Russian workers and peasants absolutist feudal Russia first crumbled, setting free its toilers and oppressed nations; and quickly semi-feudal Austria-Hungary followed suit. After 300 years of foreign rule the Czech people regained its freedom in the Czechoslovak Republic in the course of the one great revolutionary upheaval which shook the world at the end of the first world war and threw up both Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

From that time the existence of a free and independent Czechoslovakia, as of all small nations within the reach of German imperialism, was always closely linked up with the existence and the might of the Socialist Soviet Union. Of this fact the common adherence of both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to the policy of collective security was the outward expression only. When nascent collective security was nipped in the bud at Munich Czechoslovakia temporarily ceased to exist. The Socialist Soviet Union alone proved to be her sincere, resolute and persistent friend.

The reversal of the Munich policy, through bitter years of hardship, the change into the world-wide democratic alliance against Hitlerism and Fascism finds the peoples of Czechoslovakia as one of its essential links looking first and foremost towards the Soviet Union for the resurrection of their freedom. On the bodies of millions of Nazi soldiers slain by the Red Army the path is being built along which the peoples of Czechoslovakia are marching towards freedom. The revival of Czechoslovakia depends to an almost exclusive

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extent—as did its birth—on the victory of the progressive Socialist forces in the East over their enemies. That is why the peoples of Czechoslovakia are conscious of their duty to wage a fully-fledged war in their own country against the Hitler invaders, destroying Hitler's biggest single arsenal for his war against the Soviet Union, just as the Czechoslovaks in this country are impatiently intent on doing their bit in dealing the death-blow to Hitler on a Second Front in Europe.

GUSTAV BEUER (*Deputy of the Czechoslovak Parliament*).

German Communists greet the 25th Anniversary of the great October Revolution

Twenty-five years ago the workers and peasants of Russia set an example to the world. Under the glorious leadership of Lenin and Stalin, under the banner of the Bolshevik Party, they swept away the rule of the past and liberated themselves from the yoke of the Tsarist terror and exploitation. Never before in history has so gigantic a progress been made in so short a time as in the twenty-five years which followed the October Revolution, in which backward agricultural Russia became one of the leading industrial countries, the country without exploitation, poverty and unemployment, the country of Socialism and peace, of well-being and happiness.

The German workers did not follow the way of their Russian brothers. Twenty-four years after the October Revolution they allowed themselves to be misled by German Fascism, the force of the blackest reaction in history, into the attack on the Soviet Union, the vanguard of everything progressive in mankind, and always a loyal friend of the German people.

As twenty-five years ago, the defenders of Stalingrad, the whole Soviet people in their unwavering unity, are again setting an example to the world to fight bloodthirsty Fascism until victory is won. Aware of the great responsibility which rests upon us and on the whole German working class, we German Communists in Great Britain greet the Soviet Union in the hope that the immediate opening of a Second Front will accelerate the destruction of Fascism and will contribute to the liberation, alongside with the oppressed European nations, of our people from Nazi-demagogy and Gestapo terror. We greet the Soviet Union with the promise to strain every muscle, in our efforts side by side with the British people to help smashing Fascism, to do our utmost to strengthen the anti-Fascist forces in our country, to follow the example of the great Soviet Union and her Bolshevik Party.

Long live the Soviet Union, long live the Bolshevik Party and its leader Stalin!

Death to Fascism!

Everything for victory!

For the German Communists in Great Britain:

KARL BECKER

(Former Member of the German Reichstag).

From W. H. Andrews (by Cable)

For twenty-five years have watched with breathless interest successful struggle of great Soviet people and their brilliant leaders to create Socialist sixth of world. Profound admiration for heroic fight against Nazi beasts. Atrocious suffering and death of millions of comrades shall be avenged. What are we waiting for? Open Second Front.

Capetown,
Union of South Africa.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS FIGHTING FUND thanks all "*Labour Monthly*" readers for their help in raising a substantial part of the £50,000 required to stabilise the "*Daily Worker*" with its own plant and equipment.

We look to your continued support, and ask for your co-operation in overcoming paper shortage by passing your "*Daily Worker*" on to a friend.

"DAILY WORKER," 324, GRAYS INN ROAD, W.C.1.

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LABOUR MONTHLY DEVELOPMENT FUND

Total received in October, 1942 : £63 : 11 : 5

(We regret it is not possible to give individual donations this month)

The LABOUR MONTHLY, a magazine of International Labour, has now been appearing without missing a single issue, and under the same editorship, for over twenty-one years. Our first number came out in July, 1921. It has consistently carried out its policy of interpreting current events in the light of Marxian analysis, and this task has become even more essential in the midst of the world struggle against Fascism.

A paper of this character naturally depends for its existence on the goodwill of its readers rather than on its advertisers, and a Development Fund has been opened to help LABOUR MONTHLY in fulfilling its task. The highest point of this Fund was reached in July, 1941, the occasion of our twentieth anniversary, with a total of £156, but we hope that during this month of remembrance of the 1917 Revolution readers will make an even greater effort, so that our total for November, 1942, may reach a new record.

A CHALLENGE!

In connection with the Development Fund, a challenge has been thrown down by a group of soldiers. Our friends the Seven Red Artillerymen, whose numbers vary, and whose contributions fluctuate, but usually upwards, have been among our most consistent supporters for many months. They now write us : "Our group of Red Artillerymen hereby throw out a challenge to any who fancy their chance in the matter of new readers and increased contributions." What other Service Groups are willing to take up the gauntlet?

We suggest the test should be the highest donations total and the largest number of new readers reported to this office up to and including December 14, the date of our going to press. We will give the results in the issue of January, 1943. New readers should sign a statement that they will read LABOUR MONTHLY regularly in future, even if an individual copy for each is not possible.

Now, all you red airmen, signallers, bombardiers, riflemen, tankist and the rest, not forgetting the sailors and the women, what about it? Send in your donations and lists as often as you like, we'll add up the totals! There are no prizes. The honour is to win.

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This is a revised and slightly abridged edition and is now published in a Worker's Library Series at **3/6.** There are additional notes, and a biographical sketch of Krupskaya herself has been added. This is a beautiful and intimate life of the founder and leader of the Russian Communist Party, by his wife, who, from the day of their marriage shared every hardship and adversity, including exile and persecution, and after the Revolution was by his side in the years of construction and achievement.

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